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EDITED BY HAROLD E. BLISS AND J. G. CROMBIE

THE NEW JACOB SPINER
BY HAROLD E. BLISS AND J. G. CROMBIE

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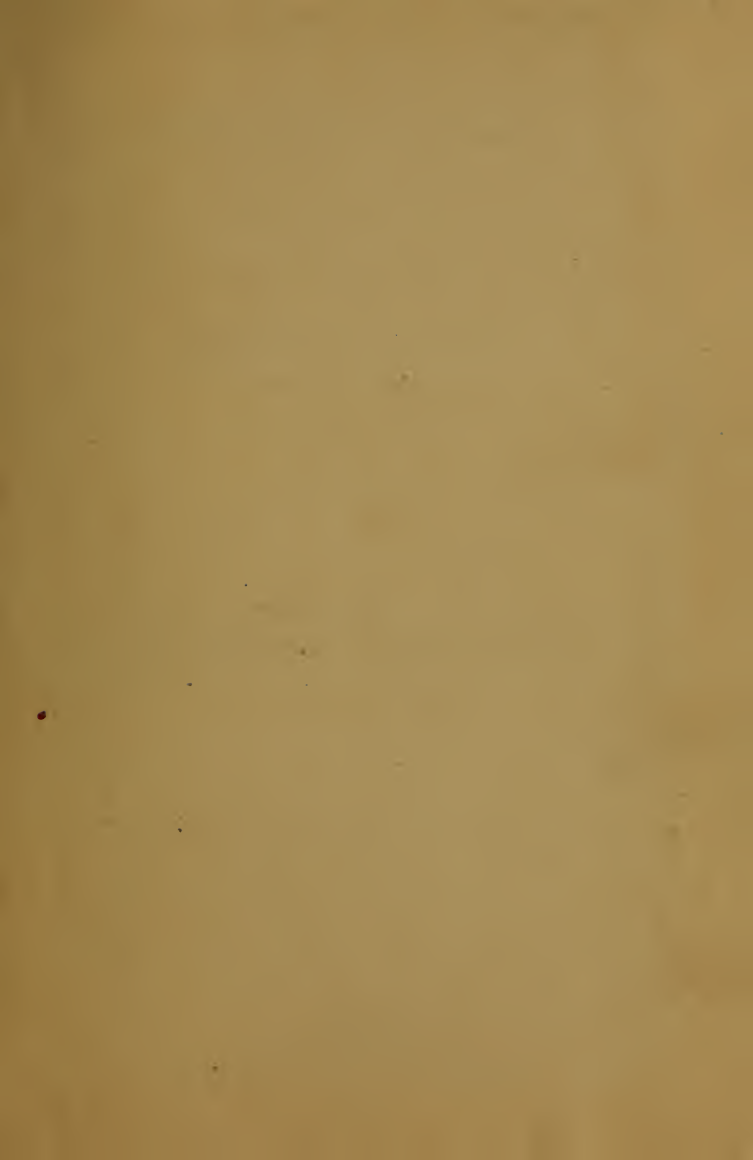
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UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.





PHILIP JACOB SPENER

AND HIS WORK.

BY MARIE E. RICHARD.

"How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of him that bringeth good tidings, that publisheth peace; that bringeth good tidings of good, that publisheth salvation; that saith unto Zion, Thy God reigneth!"—
Isaiah lii. 7.

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PHILIP JACOB SPENER AND HIS WORK.

CHAPTER I.

CONDITION OF THE LUTHERAN CHURCH IN GERMANY
AT THE TIME OF SPENER'S BIRTH—HIS YOUTH AND
EDUCATION—HIS MARRIAGE—HIS PASTORATE IN
STRASBURG, AND CALL TO FRANKFORT.

THE Peace of Westphalia had settled the rights of religious parties in Germany ; but the Reformers were dead, and the fervent spirit that had stirred them to action, and to sacrifice, had been quenched in the long struggle for religious liberty. The Church had become the heritage of a generation of warriors, who, while they preserved and protected her, had developed those passions which destroyed her inner life.

The Protestant Church was divided into two great parts : the Lutheran and the Reformed, and these fell into bitter and intolerant controversies with one another, while the entire Protestant body was engaged in disputes with the Romish Church.

Although wars had ceased because of the country's exhaustion, the hatred and bitterness engendered by them survived, and was voiced in pulpit and school, wherever men taught or preached or wrote. In protecting the truth, the people had lost that chief treasure with which re-

ligious truth is designed to endow the human heart—brotherly love.

The follower of a great benefactor moves forward developing his work. The imitator stands immovable and only poses beside it. During the century which succeeded their death, the Reformers had no followers. No one received again the fervent and creative spirit of their action. They had ready imitators, who clung to the dry husks of an empty faith, finding the letter where their heroic predecessors had found the spirit. These made of Luther's glorious theology, which had been framed as an expression of inner life, a philosophy of religion, whose importance was its correct and orthodox expression, and its intellectual apprehension, rather than its influence upon life or conscience. Luther and Calvin were quoted oftener than Christ and Paul. The Scriptures were forgotten for the creeds, and those sources of spiritual enlightenment from which should have flowed broad streams of truth became as stagnant wells of bitter waters.

Much time was devoted to study, but complaint has been made that the study was desultory and objectless, and that the scholarship of the time was superficial. The moral tone of the schools and universities was extremely low, and the candidates for the ministry presented themselves unprepared in both mind and heart for the duties of the sacred office. True, many wore the Doctor's title, but its value and significance was relative. To the masses the Bible had come to be a closed book. Its use in the schools was neglected, or, if used, the most cursory reading sufficed. Catechisation was almost entirely discontinued, or if made use of at all, the mere committing to memory of the various parts was all that was thought neces-

sary. The preaching, when not polemical, still failed in the qualities necessary for the edification of the people. There were disagreements as to the best methods of sermonizing, and the literary fashion of the time led to long and tedious pursuits of unimportant definitions to be used in unimportant exegesis, while the wants of the people and the satisfying truth was overlooked. As a relief from this, some more sensational preachers expounded one of Luther's hymns, related a fanciful allegory, or attacked, bare-handed, without pretense of cover, some minor social evil, as an extreme of dress or a folly of conduct.

True, there were earnest and pious men who saw with distress the prevailing evils, and sought to remedy them in the true way. Chief among these were Valentine Andrea, John Arndt, and the two Gerhards. But the time was not ripe for any decided change, and while the life and works of these still eminent preachers left their influence on individuals, they had not then the power to stir the dead unleavened masses of the church. In order to quiet the restless spirit of controversy and rescue the suffering church, the reigning princes published ordinances concerning certain baptismal practices, and forbade the attendance of their subjects upon certain universities; but, says a German writer, the corruption of the Lutheran Church lay too deep to be affected by advisory rules, or imperative laws; the reformation of her offenses was not to be required at the hands of princes, but was only to be worked out in her own inmost heart through men especially intrusted with her prosperity.

The first and most prominent of these was Philip Jacob Spener, who was born on the 13th of January, in the year 1635, at Rappoldsweller

in Upper Alsace. He was the son of John Philip Spener, who was a native of Strasburg, a counselor at law, and who at the time of the birth of this son, was private counselor and Register of the reigning Count of Rappoldstein.

The young Philip's parents had early dedicated him to the service of the church, and as he grew up, were not disappointed in the child's own disposition and inclination. No small influence was exercised in this behalf by his baptismal sponsor, the Countess Agathe of Rappoldstein. Being very fond of her small God-son, she had him often brought to her, and while she heaped upon him favors and benefactions, accompanied them with loving admonitions and pious instruction.

A memorable impression was left on the boy by the death of this excellent woman, in his 13th year, and perhaps the impression was only the greater that her parting injunctions were left to his childish imagination ; for though called to her bedside, she was already deprived of speech, and he only witnessed her painful efforts to communicate to him what was in her heart to say.

Naturally of a gentle and retiring disposition, he was grieved and touched at the loss of this friend, and turned from her death-bed to seasons of prayer and faithful reading of the Bible. Later he busied himself with Arndt's True Christianity, and books of like character, transposing some favorite portions into German verse.

His education was begun under Joachim Stall, who was then Court preacher at Rappoldstein, and who afterward became his brother-in-law by marriage with his older sister. In him he found a teacher both learned and pious, with whom he studied the Greek and Latin classics, and Philosophical Science, and who guided him in the

study of History and Geography. Stall was, also, a fine preacher, and a man of exemplary character. He taught the young Spener thoroughly from the Catechism, and so interested him in his sermons that the boy took notes and even copies of them, thereby learning his excellent and practical use of the text, which was then unusual.

In his fifteenth year Spener was sent to Colomar to his maternal grandfather, from whence he attended the Gymnasium (College) for one year. Here he studied the Ancient Languages, Philosophy, Debating, and Elocution, especially delighting in the last two studies.

In 1651 he was entered as a student at the University of Strasburg, where his uncle Rebhahn was a Professor of Jurisprudence. His home was in the house of his uncle, who was able in many ways to assist him. It was here with great eagerness that he entered upon those studies that were especially preparatory for his theological course. Along with Philology, History and Philosophy, he read the writings of the ancient historians, especially those in the old German. He made unusual progress in the Hebrew and Arabic, and used these languages to delve into the sacred lore of the East. He was also especially impressed by the reading of Hugo Grotius' Rights of War and Peace, and the influence of this celebrated book afterward affected his preaching and the treatment of his polemical adversaries.

In his 18th year, after having held a disputation with Thomas Hobbes, in which he distinguished himself, he was made a Master of Philosophy by the faculty of his university.

During this time, we find that these studies were but incidental to the study of the New

Testament, which remained the chief object of all his student labors until in the year 1654 he commenced the proper study of Theology. The professors who guided his theological studies were Sebastian Schmidt and Conrad Dannhauer; and these men, especially the latter, exerted an influence upon him, which colored and directed his entire future life.

Early in the beginning of his theological studies, two young princes of the Palatinate, Christian and Ernest John Charles, were entered at the University, and Spener was placed over them as tutor. Prior to this the young theologue had lectured as *Privat-Dozent* on Logic and Metaphysics; but the care of the young princes made it necessary to discontinue these lectures and to take up in their stead History, Geography and Genealogy. While these duties as tutor interfered with his study of theology much more than was agreeable to him, he found his lectures so well attended that the fees of his hearers afforded him a comfortable living. This was the more acceptable, as his parents were unable to support him fully at the University, and because he hoped in the future, through this same means, to continue his studies in the Saxon universities.

In 1656 the young princes were sent to France, and Spener was invited to accompany them and continue his course of instruction. On many accounts he would gladly have accepted this offer; but he was led to decline it by reason of his desire to devote his time to theology and the continuation of his lectures, in which decision he was encouraged by his professors, Dannhauer and Schmidt.

Meantime, we find the young man not only developing in mind and coming into notice for

his mental attainments, but also for his peculiar spiritual gifts and strict piety. Prior to the beginning of his academical life, and afterward by letters, he had been especially instructed and admonished by his tutor Stall, in regard to the keeping of the Sabbath. This earnest man had repeatedly begged his charge not only to refrain from everything of worldly interest and unholy appearance on that day, but to put aside entirely those theological studies which were calculated to make one more learned, but not more pious. Following this advice, Spener attended regularly the services of the church, being especially pleased with the preaching of one of the professors of the university, John Schmidt, whose pastoral care and counsel he frequently sought. After Sunday services it was his custom to read only such books as tended to spiritually edify, or to gather about him a few friends who joined him in the singing of hymns and the discussion of various Bible topics.

In the year 1655, Spener preached his first sermon in the neighborhood of Strasburg from Luke i. 74, 75, and often spoke afterward of his joy in at once finding that especial happiness in preaching the Word of God that he had anticipated, and which ever afterward continued with him through the years in which he exercised his ministerial office.

But as Spener advanced in learning and in spirituality, he wished the more to enjoy the broader culture of the various universities, and, therefore, in the year 1659 he left Strasburg and went to Basle, where he held forth as *Privat Docent* in the same line of lectures which he had pursued in Strasburg, and in which he met with distinguished success and public approval. Here he placed himself under the celebrated John Bux-

torf as a student of the Eastern languages, and also, on the occasion of a University Jubilee of this old university, took part in its first historical disputation.

Later on, after stopping for a time in Freiburg, he went to Geneva with the intention of traveling into France, but was here attacked with an illness of such severity and duration that he was left too weak for travel, and because of his mother's anxiety for his health (his father being now dead), he traveled no further than Lyons, from whence he returned to Geneva.

During his stay in Lyons he made the acquaintance of Claude Menestrier, who was a celebrated diplomatist, and a connoisseur of heraldry. Spener made use of this opportunity to study by his aid more deeply into the closely related field of Genealogy, which he had been required to teach. But more important was his acquaintance in Geneva with Anton Leger, a professor of Theology, who had been preacher to a late Dutch Ambassador to Constantinople, and who assisted him in his historical studies to a better knowledge of the establishment of the Greek Church, and the efforts and end of the patriarch, Cyrillus Lukaris. This professor had also been born a Waldensian, and was able to inform Spener fully as to the history and condition of this sect. There was yet another Genevan acquaintance who exercised no small degree of influence on Spener's future life; this was John von Labadie, a preacher whose edifying sermons and efforts for the purifying of the corrupted church at once attracted the enthusiastic young man, who already had in view the same kind of activity. While his personal association with the great preacher was but limited, he conceived for him so great a respect

that he translated some of his writings from the French into German, which translation was afterward published, passing through two editions. This admiration for Labadie, however, afterward brought reproach upon Spener, when the former fell under the disapprobation of the conservative church partly for his continued efforts in the direction of church reform.

During his stay in Geneva Spener was received with intimacy and friendship by the professors of the university and the higher social circles of the town, but returned to Strasburg to resume his interrupted theological studies, feeling gratefully conscious of the benefits resulting from his stay there.

Not long after his return to Strasburg, he was required by the Count of Rappoldstein to accompany him in a journey to Stuttgart in order to attend the wedding of a Princess of Würtemberg with an East Friesland Prince. Here he was presented to the Grand-Duke Eberhard, the ducal family and other persons of distinction and high degree, by whom he was well received and who expressed a wish that he should remain in that part of the country and make Würtemberg the field of his future labors. Indeed he really went to Tübingen for a few months and read lectures ; but while he was yet considering as to his future course, he received a call to a pulpit in Strasburg.

This was a charge of great prominence, requiring a large amount of pastoral work. The young preacher held so high an idea of the pastoral duty and found himself so conscientious regarding the perfect administration of such a position that he doubted his ability to perform properly its duties. He feared that he should fail, both in physical strength and the necessary mental and spiritual

gifts. He sought the counsel of friends, and was so far persuaded to accept the call, that he returned to Strasburg to examine more fully the proposed field of labor. But when he had done this, and had considered the entire circumstances, he felt that the work presented too many difficulties to warrant him in undertaking it. During the winter following, he remained in Strasburg studying privately and holding public lectures. He expected to return to Würtemberg early in the year; but in March, 1663, through the intervention of Dannhauer, he was offered second place in the ministry of the city.

This position would require the public preaching of God's Word, an activity for which he now heartily longed, but it left him free from all pastoral duties, and afforded him time for the further pursuit of his theological studies.

There is no doubt but his friends in Strasburg hoped by this call to win him at once to a permanent professorship in the university, especially as he continued the reading of lectures there in his old lines, to which he finally added theology.

In 1664, following the advice of his friends, among them his former teachers, Dannhauer and Schmidt, he passed his theological examination, held his inaugural disputation and took his degree of Doctor of Theology.

The day of his promotion to the Doctorate was also the day of his marriage with Susanna Erhardt, the daughter of a former member of the Council of Strasburg, and who had been early left a widow.

His marriage, Spener afterward himself says, was blessed of God, to whom he rendered hearty thanks for so true a helper as he found in his wife.

She was of kindly and loving disposition, pos-

sessing a warm Christian heart and a capability for management which relieved her husband of all care of their practical affairs, and at the same time made his household an exemplary one. She, herself, became an ornament and honor to his position, through her retired and correct course of conduct.

Their life together was earnest, but gentle and loving ; and was mutually profitable and strengthening in the duties which they undertook. Eleven children were born to them, six sons and five daughters. Five of these died before the father, two of the sons when just about entering honorable positions in life ; but the other six continued a joy and blessing to the parents to the end of their days. One daughter married Rechenberg, afterward a Leipzig professor, and another was married to a pastor named Birnbaum. Spener's household was also gladdened by the presence of his wife's mother, who is described by him as an excellent Christian woman who loved him as her own son.

By his promotion and marriage Spener was now in most promising circumstances for the discharge of the duties of his chosen office. For two years he labored therein with an earnestness which brought the most gratifying results to the church and constantly increasing distinction for himself. But now came a call, which, though entirely unsought by himself, was one of the most important events of his life. It was this event that shaped his entire future and brought him more and more into notice before the religious world. The imperial city, Frankfort-on-the-Main, selected him as first pastor of the city, and this position carried with it the office of Senior Councillor of the Spiritual Ministerium. In all the

changes of Spener's life, not one was of his own seeking. He believed and taught that the minister must be called to his office by God through the established agencies of the Church without any advances of his own toward the office. He further, fearing the involuntary influence of self-interest, believed that others than the candidate should decide upon his fitness and worthiness for the proffered position, and that the final decision must rest alone upon the promise of increased benefit to Christ's kingdom, and that the personal advantage of the man and the preacher should have no weight in the conditions.

What wonder then that Spener doubted the wisdom of this call and his ability to fulfil its requirements? He was but thirty-one years of age, and those who would be his colleagues in office were grey-haired and elderly men who would themselves belong more properly to such a position, by reason of their wider experience in the exercise of the ministerial office. The pastoral charge here would, also, be much greater and more difficult than the one he had so feared to enter upon in Strasburg. Added to these difficulties which presented themselves in this proffered field of labor, was the feeling of attachment to his present position. He was with a city which had been the home of his parents, and had now long since become his own; it had also afforded him the kindest support, and had of its own free will called him to a position that still promised much for his future usefulness.

Unable to decide for himself so important a step, and fearing that his friends might be influenced by their interest in him to overrate his fitness for so high a position, he left the matter to be settled by the two cities of Strasburg and Frankfort.

To this end he addressed a communication to the City Council of Strasburg. He set out fully the state of affairs, and gave reasons for and against his acceptance of the call, begging them to decide for him in this difficult and important matter. The Council called to its aid the theological faculty of the university, and by them in joint conference it was decided that the call was of a nature that demanded his acceptance. Spener believed this to be the voice of God, and proceeded to obey it. On the 3d of July he took public leave of the city and his people in a farewell sermon which he preached in the Minster.

The cholera was raging in Frankfort, but this did not prevent his immediate removal there with his family. The 20th of July witnessed his departure from Strasburg, and upon his arrival in his new field of labor, he at once entered upon its duties, which as yet but slightly indicated the breadth and importance of his future work and its ever increasing difficulties.

CHAPTER II.

SPENER AS SENIOR OF THE MINISTERIUM AT FRANKFORT—HIS PREACHING AND EFFORTS FOR THE REFORM OF THE CHURCH—HIS OPINIONS ON CHURCH GOVERNMENT.

SPENER was now the first minister of the chief capital city of Germany, and all eyes were turned upon him. Some movement was expected from a man, who, though so young, had been found worthy of so important a position. None, however, felt the importance and responsibility of the situation more than he himself.

He wished to assume such an attitude toward the city government and his colleagues as should not give offense; but from the first he resolved to carry out those principles which promised most for the enlargement of God's kingdom. He decided to hold himself aloof from the worldly affairs of the state, and to show to the government proper honor and respect. But he reserved to himself the right to admonish and reprove his rulers in the matters of his own office and their own spiritual interest when necessary. This he hoped always to do with all possible gentleness and privacy.

Toward his fellow-workers in the Lord's vineyard, he wished to show the hearty love which he felt, and hoped never to use to his own profit or advantage the authority with which he was invested. Especially did he desire to leave to his

colleagues the utmost freedom of thought and judgment.

By his preaching he aimed at the uprooting of the prevailing condition of worldliness and carnal assurance, hoping to plant in its stead a living and fruitful faith. With this end in view, he determined upon the greatest simplicity in his sermonizing, and a close personal approach to the people under his care, hoping to direct intelligently their upbuilding in the true spiritual faith.

On the first of August, after reaching Frankfurt, he appeared before his people in his first discourse. He chose for his text these words from Romans: "I am not ashamed of the Gospel of Christ, for it is the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth." This he treated simply and clearly, closely following the text, explaining the power of the Divine Word and how it must be used for the healing of souls. He said that the Gospel must make Christians and save men, that it could not do otherwise. So long, therefore, as the Gospel had freedom and an uninterrupted course, it would go well with the Church, however hard and miserable her outward circumstances might appear. Since this, then, was the means of her prosperity, for this blessing should God be continually invoked, and to this object should the deliberations of the Church be directed. Further, in the course of the sermon, he said: "But as the Scriptures and the preaching of the word have so much sacredness and so much power, the exhortation arises, that we habitually regard them with reverence, and bear in mind that those who possess the Scriptures should read them with care (since he does dishonor to the Gospel who will not permit it to exert its power), and those who read it should do

it with devotion, as is becoming in so sacred an employment."

Again he said: "Those who preach the Gospel should reflect that they speak not the words of men, but the power of God. They should beware, therefore, lest they mingle with it any thoughts of their own, and thereby corrupt it, lest they neglect to go about it with reverence and care, and read it as the word of God, and lest they take a glory in preaching sermons without due preparation; for as far as is consistent with other duties they should study them with care. If the Gospel is the Gospel of Christ, we are thereby admonished, that as the preacher should desire to preach nothing else, so the hearers should desire to hear nothing else; not human trifling and merry tales to produce laughter in the church; not deep speculation which none of the hearers can understand (then it would be called a gospel of over-wise reason); not the histories or empty services of the saints (then it might be called the gospel of the saints, and not of the spotless Christ); nor yet mere morality; for although it is proper that morality should be impressed upon the Church, it is not its first and immediate aim, but is to be awaited as a result, not looked to as a means. The heathen had as correct morals as perhaps Christians can ever portray; yet they had not the Gospel of Christ, and, therefore, knew nothing of its saving power. Even Jews and Turks, the false believers, can discourse on morals and extol them, but know nothing of the saving power of the Gospel and its correct doctrines."

"But," he went on to say, "so long as the Scriptures merely lie upon the shelf, and are not heard or read, so long must they be considered simply as standing alone on the page; certainly

they could not be in such a case the power of God, but a dead and powerless work. The sermon also which is not heard, or is heard inattentively;—there it lies accurately written or printed, yet it has not such power. It may be compared to the rod of Moses: when laid aside in the evening it was, perhaps, a mere whip or stick; but when Moses brought it forth, and used it according to the command of God, it was the instrument by which the Almighty performed wonderful works. Or, it was like a great organ standing untouched without sound or song, but which played upon, became alive and tuneful. The power is there that is able to bring light to the human heart, to convince it of truth, remove its fettering hardness, to awaken faith which shall make it righteous and a sharer in the Holy Spirit, and keep it strong and comforted unto the end.”

“This,” said he, “is the power that is hidden in the Word of God, and which is exercised through it when received into the hearts of men.” Then he went on to show the necessity of a proper reception of the word, the conditions which prevented it, and the preparation and conduct of life which would permit the word to operate on the heart and mind.

Such a sermon would seem common enough if preached now at the close of the 19th century; but so near the middle of the 17th century, when the people were accustomed to listen to long and bitter discourses against heretics, dry essays on morality or tedious discussions of non-essential doctrines, drawn out to the finest point in carefully studied definitions, sharpened to turn the edge of some adversary’s steel, this sort of preaching, founded on the Divine Word, without oratorical or rhetorical display, and rising, as it

manifestly did from a heart fervent and alive with faith, made a deep impression upon his hearers.

This was a type of all his future sermons, by the use of which he so materially improved the wretched style of the pulpit oratory of his time. Even at the present time much might be learned from the earnest simplicity, the strict adherence to scriptural truth by which he stirred the hearts of his people and the admirable application of the same to the known condition and circumstances of his hearers. Yet his sermons were in a language not then developed to give expression to the highest culture, and were often necessarily of a rambling length that would not in these days be suffered in the pulpit. This latter fault was doubtless owing to the neglected state of popular religion, which required minute explanations of simple doctrines and passages of Scripture that should have been familiar. But Spener's preaching arose from quite another source than that which the scholastic treatment of theology prevailing at that time could furnish. His own piety, nourished by the early teachings of Stall, and later by the fervent spirit of Dannhauer and Schmidt, and his constant study of the Scriptures, sought its own expression.

He had never heard of homiletics, much less studied them, so that he was not confused by the various methods of sermonizing. He says regarding methods, that he had allowed himself to forget that he had ever studied Elocution or Oratory; that he never observed the form of a sermon which he heard, but only the excellent things contained therein. "For," said he, "it must be the Gospel which points out the way to Christ's children. These words of grace are like the blessed dawn pregnant with sweet dews."

The failures of form in his sermonizing he knew full well, saying that he was unable to bring himself within acceptable brevity. He had not the gift of nervous, direct address. His power lay in the broad and complete working-out of his text. His sermons were all carefully written and thoroughly studied before preaching. The slightest changes in the pulpit reading were carefully noted as emendations on his return home. This care and his usual use of manuscript was no doubt due to the teaching of his old preceptor Schmidt, who impressed upon him the proverb: "*Dass Junge Blüttler alte Bettler gaben*," and admonished his pupils continually as to care and industry in the preparation of sermons.

Spener's preaching was largely attended, and did not fail to show the hoped for fruits among his hearers. At first he preached after the usual Lutheran custom from the gospel for the day; but after a time he complained of feeling limited by thus adhering to the Perikope, since the people did not receive enough of the Word of God to understand it intelligently in its breadth and fulness. Yet he feared to repulse and confuse his hearers by a decided departure from this custom, and sought another method by which they might hear more of the Scripture without offense. To this end, therefore, he so separated the introductions from the sermons proper that they formed by themselves a regular series of propositions on various doctrines. He then went on through the Epistles of Paul to the Romans and Corinthians in a condensed manner, and afterwards the Epistles to the Ephesians, Colossians and Galatians, explaining them verse by verse. When he took up his regular text he drew from it a theme to the aid of which he brought refer-

ences from the New Testament, which were not contained in the Perikope. So he strove not only for the edification of his hearers, but he led them to the true sources of Christianity and the means by which they might of themselves advance in righteous life and character.

But it was not long before Spener discovered that the great cause of failure in these his aims, was the inability of his people to understand preaching. This he believed to be due to a lack of doctrinal instruction and knowledge of the whole Scripture, and he at once concerned himself about remedying this evil. The Catechism was taught in Frankfort, it is true; but in a negligent and merely formal manner. Spener held a consultation with his colleagues in office as to how the character of this teaching could be changed. It was decided among them, that in the afternoon services the same material should be treated that should be afterward explained in the catechetical classes, and as the afternoon service was usually but sparsely attended, he himself undertook to make of the catechism lesson an introduction to his regular morning sermon. Thus catechetical teaching became a part of the service before the regular preaching. In this way he succeeded in interesting not only the young, but those in whose charge they were, who began now more earnestly to interest themselves in the preparation of their children and servants for church membership, and even to attend with them the open courses of catechetical instruction. It became the custom to bring Bibles to the church that his excellent explanations might be closely followed; and with this interest once aroused, the reading of the Scripture in the home and the worship together of the assembled family became more the custom than hitherto.

Spener possessed a special gift for Bible teaching and catechisation, and though at first his catechetical lectures were attended more especially by children and those preparing especially for the first communion, one after another, all ages and classes of people became interested and attracted until the congregation became as large as at the regular preaching service. Many even confessed to more spiritual help than they found in the other services. Spener continued this exercise every Sunday afternoon, exerting himself in all ways to establish and broaden an institution which he believed to be the chief means of building up anew the languishing Church. Frankfort was a great commercial city, and was much visited by the traveling public, especially at the time when the commercial fairs were held there, with all that pomp and splendor of united Europe.

Even these visitors were at last drawn by the increasing reputation of this diligent young preacher, to attend his catechetical lectures. One, a certain Baron von Helmont, greatly praised his work. But he also gave utterance to the doubt that this intellectual apprehension would really not bring forth good results in the life and disposition. He ended his remarks with the question: "How can we transfer the head into the heart?"

These words stung the earnest Spener to the heart, and he once more considered how he might most effectively use the Scriptures to produce holy living.

He was induced by his friends to publish his catechetical discourses in the form of questions and answers under the title of "A Simple Exposition of Christian Doctrine, after the order of Luther's Smaller Catechism." This work was

favorably received throughout Germany, and measurably supplanted the less perfect compends then in use.

In its introduction he pointed out to parents and teachers its proper use, and strove to impress upon them that it was not designed to store the memory, but to enlighten the mind and touch the heart.

His colleagues were sensible of his superior skill in catechising, and requested him to furnish them with written advice upon the subject. Therefore, in 1683, he published his "Catechetical Tables," which were extensively used in religious instruction.

Spener had wished that the attendance upon and the delivery of catechetical instruction might be ordered by law; but much more did he desire that the people should be inclined to attend freely. He was gratified in the extreme as this inclination became more and more apparent.

The custom of confirming the young in the open assemblages of the church had fallen into disuse, and the service of confirmation was held privately in the houses of those who wished it. This Spener felt should be changed, and the custom of Reformation times in regard to confirmation revived. At his instance, it was ordered by law that all confirmations should be made publicly and in the churches except in the cities, where it was thought best to leave it optional. But these public services were found to be of so much spiritual importance that, even in the cities, they became more and more the general custom.

Always concerned for the highest welfare of the Church, and active in its spiritual upbuilding, Spener added yet another public service, which produced a lasting effect upon the condition of

the Church. In the year 1669 he preached a sermon on the righteousness of the Pharisees, showing the hypocritical and merit-seeking character of the Christianity of his time, and reproving and condemning it, as it well deserved. This caused no inconsiderable commotion among his people. A few who felt themselves offended complained loudly, declaring that they would never again listen to his preaching. But Spener had aroused his people from their imagined security for a purpose, and proceeded to carry it forward with only the greater determination because of the feeling he had occasioned. He pointed out the ill conditions of the church, but he also provided a remedy which he believed would cure all its evils. This was the more diligent use and study of the Word of God. Through this means he hoped for a more complete knowledge of the doctrine of justification by faith, wherewith to destroy the growing confidence in worldly offices and the merit of good works. He believed that his people could not come to a sufficient knowledge of the Scripture by what they heard in the church, unless this was sustained by piety in the home and a continuation of scriptural studies.

He, therefore, encouraged them to meet in small companies at various houses on Sunday afternoon for Bible study and the discussion of scriptural themes for mutual edification. But fearing that these assemblies might too readily be diverted from their true purpose, and that they might also become the subject of remark and suspicion, he proposed to bring the people together in his own study and himself to undertake the leadership of the meeting. In all this he consulted his colleagues and met with their ap-

proval and often with their co-operation. He did not think it necessary to consult the City Council; but they were soon informed of the movement, and the four members who had especial oversight of the church expressed their entire approbation of the movement.

This was the origin of the *Collegia Pietatis*, which afterward called forth so much bitter criticism, but which was in part the means of a great change in the church life of the people.

At first the meetings were attended by persons of humble character, but later the attendance became general and greatly increased, and included divines, lawyers, doctors, merchants, mechanics, men and women of all stations and conditions of life. The greater part of the people came as listeners only, but those who joined in the discussions were of the more learned and cultured classes. The women were separated from the rest of the assembly, sitting where they could hear, but not be seen. After various small changes and under the wise leadership of Spener, these meetings, then so famous for their novelty and their general interest, came to correspond, in effect, to our present weekly prayer-meeting. They were assembled twice each week, on Mondays and Wednesdays. At the former time Spener repeated his last sermon, further explaining any obscure points, inviting questions and correcting misapprehensions, while the latter meeting was devoted to prayer and the expounding of the Scriptures. All this was done with the intent of awakening a more intelligent and active Christianity.

These meetings were the means of rich blessings to Spener's ministry in Frankfort. At first they had caused some uneasiness, and also some un-

pleasant and slanderous reports; but the reports proving false, the uneasiness abated, and for some time these pious assemblages met with general approval.

After a time, however, when Spener came to be regarded as a reformer of the Lutheran Church, meetings of this character became general throughout the entire Church. Under other leadership, and doubtless owing to the undue excitement of religious reaction, abuses and departures from order and good doctrine crept into some of the meetings, and the good which resulted was not unmingled with evil.

About this time there appeared a new edition of Arndt's Postils. Spener seized the opportunity to write an introduction to the book, in which he gave full expression to those desires for a holy church life which now possessed his entire being. This was so well received and eagerly read that the same year it was re-issued in the form of a tract under the title of "Pious Desires, or heart-felt longings after a God-pleasing betterment of the true Evangelical Church, with some simple Christian propositions to that end." This was accompanied by two treatises upon the subject, by his two brothers-in-law, Stall and Horbius.

In the short introduction to the work Spener apologizes that he, still a young and unimportant theologian, should appear before the church in so weighty a matter, and then proceeds as follows: "Let us all together do that which is required of us to feed the flock which God through his own blood has purchased. Let us think, dear fathers and brethren, what we have promised our God whom we are privileged to serve, and what, therefore, our chief care should be: let us think on the

terrible reckoning with him that awaits us; of the unguarded souls that he will require at our hands; let us think that not once will be asked, how learned we have been and have appeared before the world, in what favor with men we have lived and what favor we have known how to maintain, in what honor we have moved and what great names we have left behind, how much of treasure and worldly goods we have laid in store and therewith called curses upon ourselves, but rather with what sincere and simple hearts we have striven to advance the kingdom of God, with what pure and pious doctrine, with what worthy example in scorning the world, denying ourselves, taking up the cross and following our Saviour we have sought the edification of our hearers. With what eagerness we have set ourselves, not only against error but against godless lives; with what constancy and joy we have borne offenses from false brethren or an openly godless world, and have praised God in our suffering. Let us, therefore, be industrious in the examination of ourselves and the failures of the Church, that we may learn the afflicting maladies, and search out the remedies with more eager calling on the Lord for his Spirit's light. And let us not, meanwhile, stand still, but let us attempt, each in his own congregation as he may, to put to use those means which seem necessary and profitable. For of what service are all reformatory propositions when we make no effort to live accordingly? If we must suffer from opposition, let it be only a more certain sign that our work pleases the Lord, that he allows it to be so tested, and in nowise grow weary or relax our zealous efforts. What is impossible for men is possible for God. God's hour must come, if we will but

wait. Must others bring forth fruit in patience, so, also, must we, and also require it of others in patience. The Lord's work moves wonderfully, even as it is wonderful, but even on that account is it hidden from us, the much more certainly lest we neglect it. If God giveth thee not the joy to behold at once the effect of thy work, no doubt he will conceal it from thee lest thou shouldest boast of thyself. There standeth grass that thou thinkest to be unfruitful grass, keep on with thy watering, finally therefrom will grow timely ears. Much more, let us commend our work to the father, earnestly praying, and be satisfied with such success as he permits us to see. Also, let us all with heart-felt devotion help one another, striving with prayer and pleading, that God will here and there, one after another, open the doors of the Word that we may fruitfully speak of the mysteries of Christ, that we may speak gladly as is due, and glorify his name by teaching, living and suffering."

The little work itself began with a look at the completely corrupted state of the Church, with a powerful presentation of the chief prevailing sins in government, Church and home by the sight of which the Jews as well as the Catholics were frightened away from the Evangelical Church on the ground that it could be no true church. He showed also that it was not possible to cover its shame by calling on the purity of its doctrine, and that the Reformation begun by Luther in relation to the virtues of the Christian life was not yet finished, but had paused in the middle of its course.

Then he encouraged the abolition of these abuses, supporting himself by the direction of the Scripture for the coming better condition of the

Church on earth, which should be followed by the return of the Jews and the fall of papistical Rome. He showed that, even though perfection was not to be reached, it must yet be possible to bring the Church nearer to the glorious example of the first Christian congregation.

As the first means to this end he recommended the "abundant spread of the Word of God." "This," declared Spener, "is the true source of Evangelical life, which though so fully given to the public, does not yet flow full enough, partly because of preaching from pre-determined texts (the *Perikopes*), while the rest of the Scripture remained largely untouched, partly because of the inability of the hearers to understand a consecutive sermon. Therefore, it was necessary to make the study of the Scripture a household duty, and this he thought could be required when occasionally the books of the Bible were one after another read in the church with some cursory explanation. He thought that it also would prove wholesome, if the old Apostolic kind of church gatherings were again to become customary, that there might be, beside the usual open church service, yet another assemblage. Here he hoped that besides the teacher, others, who might be prepared, should, under the oversight of a minister, read aloud from the Scriptures and voice his thoughts and doubts concerning it, and from others, as well as from the minister, receive light upon it. This he felt would tend to cultivate confidence between pastor and people, and also among the people themselves, when guided by a wise preacher. He hoped also by this to help the people to a more exact knowledge of the Scripture for household use and leadership, as well as to a better understanding of the needs of the Church and greater ability to correct its abuses.

The second of these remedial propositions was the sincere and industrious exercise of the spiritual priesthood. Spener here refers to 1st Peter ii. 9, saying that all Christians are anointed priests by the Holy Ghost without exception, and stand in the spiritual office, so that in case of need they may administer its duties. "The doctrine of the priesthood," said Spener, "is the chief error of the Romish Church, while it is as well the chief support of their power over the laity and the means by which they are kept in idleness, viciousness and ignorance, that the clergy, in their pride, may be sustained as the only spiritual authority. Luther could not have inflicted a greater wound upon the Romish Church than by calling all Christians anew to the universal priesthood; because this implies that one may have especial power in searching the Word of God, another may be able, more especially, to teach his household companions, to admonish, to reprove, to comfort, to turn to repentance, to edify, to watch over their lives, to care for their piety, and to do all that in private, which belongs to the public service of the Church. The orderly use of this priesthood does not encroach upon the office of the preacher, but is rather its necessary supplement, and quite a different condition of things would obtain in the Church were it not so entirely lost sight of."

In the third place, he would require the inculcation of the idea that Christianity does not consist of doctrine alone, but much more of spirit and practice, which should be expressed in works of unselfish love, submission of will, abstaining from revenge, a peaceful mind, which would gladly do good to an enemy, and which to these ends, lived in friendship and confidence with the pastor, or some other spiritually enlightened per-

son, that they might the better receive good counsel and advice.

The fourth proposition concerned the conduct of religious controversies with unbelievers or those in error. For these, Spener recommended sincere prayers, good example, profound, but modest explanation of the truth, without severity, in the exercise of Christian love; and showed that the only hope for union of the various divisions of the Christian Church lay in such methods as God could bless. He believed that disputation was necessary for the maintenance of pure doctrine; but he condemned the then prevailing manner of it, which brought strange fire in the holy place of the Lord; and which being directed more frequently toward the overthrow of an opponent than the search after and defense of the truth, broke out in passionate anger. He declared that disputation was not alone the means of preserving the truth; but that it must be combined with love and the fervent anxiety, not only to convince one's adversary, but also to turn such a conviction to his spiritual profit.

Above all he desired in the fifth place, for the reform of the Church, an entirely different education and culture of the divinity students in the schools and universities. He wished that the teachers and professors would not only persevere in the "sharpening of the golden truth," but would set their students a worthy example of its living results, and that they might lay stress upon pious lives, as well as diligence in study. He advised that a strict watch be kept over the morals of the student, and that on entering upon the study of theology they be required to bring evidence of good moral character as well as of sufficient learning. He thought that only the very

best of the students should be taught in polemics, that they might become true defenders of a pure faith ; that the disputations should be held in the German language rather than the Latin, but that disputation should be limited to essential things, and the theology be brought back to Apostolic simplicity. He advised more of Bible study for the student and the use of purely pious books, and less dogmatic discussion ; also the occasional exercise of the ministerial office in teaching and comforting the sick, that they might understand the necessity of proper preparation.

The sixth and last proposition related to better and more edifying preaching. He condemned the then prevailing custom of an exhibition of learning in the pulpit, quotations in foreign languages, and the artful fitting together of obscure disquisitions. He declared that Christianity consisted of the new creature, in whose soul the operation of belief brought forth fruit in the life ; that it was not enough to hear the word with the carnal ear, but that the Holy Ghost must be heard therein, and that the preached Word must sink into the heart. He declared that it was not enough to be baptized ; but that men must hold fast to Christ and witness to him by righteous lives. It was also not enough to receive the holy communion, but that also the soul therein must be nourished. In like manner he spoke of prayer and of the service of God in the Church, teaching that all true service was but the expression of the inner life, and that anything else was but rank hypocrisy.

Great above all expectation was the commotion which this little treatise produced. Expression had frequently been given to like complaints over the corruption of the Church, sometimes in the

form of the sharpest polemics, sometimes as the bitterest satire; but never with the gentleness of deeply Christian spirit striking so directly at the root of the evil. It was also commended by the practical propositions for reform which accompanied it; and it was little wonder that on every hand Spener received congratulations and letters of approval from theologians and statesmen anxious for the reform of church conditions. Moved by this work of Spener's, there immediately appeared others of the same character, in whole or in part approving of his plans and wishes. These were by some of the most celebrated theologians and preachers of the time, among whom were Balthasar Menzer and Benedict Carpzov, who afterward became his bitterest enemies.

Among these were some who would not give countenance to his hope for the return of the Jews and the appearance of better times for the Church, and complained that he undervalued the scholastic theology. Others recalled the establishment of the *Collegia Pietatis*, and fearing that they would result in dangerous abuses, believed that it would be well if they were forbidden in the churches.

But more important than all written opinions, was the fact that efforts were at once made in many places for the carrying out of the propositions for reform by men of noted piety and ability. Indeed, in Würtemberg, this was finally ordered by law.

Spener expressed himself as greatly encouraged that so many of his contemporaries had felt the condition of the Church and experienced the same desire concerning it. He felt that his own efforts had been blessed, and that his humble little book had become an awakening voice which called so many together in this good work.

He believed as the movement became better known throughout Germany and its northern provinces, that there would be a general improvement of the Church, and he expressed a hope that each in his place, and according to his gifts and opportunity, would work to this end.

The rich blessing which attended this work, had, with many people, produced too great a consciousness of power, so that its good results were too often hindered by an excess of enthusiasm. But with Spener this could not occur. His humility was equal to his power, and his thoughtfulness to his enthusiasm. He knew but too well that a general reformation of the Church was a tremendous work in which the help of the government was necessary, and that this aid, under the existing conditions, was not to be hoped for. He foresaw, and found that it so proved in all his after experience, that all church reforms must begin with the pastors, and from these the most opposition was to be expected. He had, further, already found that all good things prospered slowly, and that many unforeseen and insurmountable obstacles must arise. Therefore, he counseled all those who would act upon his propositions, to move carefully and moderately, and especially in the beginning, not to go to any extremity lest later the movement might in its novelty become uncontrollable. He warned especially against an attempt immediately to unite the various parties of the Church by these efforts, believing that in this way all good results would be lost. He bade them remember that good fruit was not to be expected of a wild tree.

CHAPTER III.

SPENER'S CONTROVERSIES—HIS SICKNESS—HIS CALL TO DRESDEN.

DURING the summer of 1676 Spener gathered about him a few students and candidates of theology, and read the Scripture with them. They began with the First Epistle of John, comparing the German translation with various others, and searching out the meaning of each passage. Then they considered its dogmatical importance, its practical application and most especially the edification which it afforded.

While he was the promoter of a gradual transformation of the Lutheran Church, he did not wish to be considered in the light of a reformer, and refused to listen to the words of praise which greeted him on every side.

“I know well,” he wrote to a friend, “that the work of Reformation is not the work of a man, but of the Lord of the Church. I am not the principal nor shall I be the principal, as such gifts are not mine. It is more honor than I deserve that God has so blessed my *Pious Desires*, that it has as a far-sounding voice awakened and encouraged some, not to learn of me, but to consider the affairs of the Church according to their gifts which they have from God, and which, used in his service, will be increased. I do not see in this awakening that God will have more for me to do than the work of my particular congrega-

tion, unless it be that I may use every opportunity to encourage the simple-minded, and edify a few good friends through our mutual correspondence."

Again in 1681 he expressed himself much in the same way: "I could not permit myself the folly of appearing as a reformer of the Church; I realize my own weakness and that I have not the wisdom or the power. Let me be satisfied that I may be among those who help to encourage the reformation which the Lord intends." And three years later, he says: "In the great work of the improvement of the Church, I do not find in myself at all the necessary ability. I will say nothing of the lack of scholarship and the natural intellectual gifts, but of the chief failure of wisdom and prudence, which I so often experience in the peculiar affairs of my present office, that I am ashamed, and know not where to turn for counsel. How would it be, then, should I attempt to adapt myself to a higher position? Especially do I lack the power of God from on high, which is very weak in me, and my natural timidity, even in trifling things, is so difficult to overcome that it is never sufficient to undertake those things which require true heroism. I lack indeed these witnesses of a godly call."

These declarations were not empty words, but the sincere speech of a man who measured himself and his work by Luther and like heroes of the faith, and who, aware of his peculiar disposition, attempted no violent tearing down and upbuilding of the Church, but a gradual and quiet improvement.

He found still more reason to decline the name of a reformer, when, after the appearance of his "Pious Desires," he found it praised by some

and condemned by others. Many of these latter persons did not openly express their condemnation, but announced their disaffection by vilest slanders. Especially were his house-meetings a cause of displeasure to some of his fellow-townsmen. Some who found themselves roused from dreams of carnal security, declared that he exaggerated the requirements of morality to an extent beyond the reach of human nature.

Spener had long suffered all manner of evil at the hands of such people in Frankfort, especially through darkly circulated reports concerning him and his followers and their meetings. Now when his "Pious Desires" brought these meetings into general notice, and others set to work to carry out his propositions, there was anxiety among those theologians who were offended by Spener's complaints, and yet had no desire to forsake the ease of their idle orthodoxy. Fearing, also, further innovations which might finally result in their disturbance, yet not venturing to oppose it openly, they set afloat the most adventurous reports, and also received and spread abroad whatever reached their ears from Frankfort concerning Spener and his work, without knowledge or proof of their truth.

Throughout Germany were carried reports of the Frankfort Quakers and Labadists: how they practiced community of goods, and had separated themselves from the Church; how women and servant maids preached, learned Greek and Hebrew, and taught it to their children; how all of Spener's followers wore only linen clothing, and might be known by thin, sickly and bleached faces; how the men abused the women because they neglected their households for these meetings; that the women robbed their families of all deli-

cacies that they might consume them among these friends; how finally the founder of this disorder had made the meetings in his house an opportunity for theft, had been charged with it and suspended from office, and that many of his followers had suffered most dishonorable imprisonment. Such reports as these came to Spener from all sides, and caused him in 1677 to have published a pamphlet entitled "A letter to a foreign minister concerning the impressions that had been spread against his doctrines and the so-called *Collegia Pietatis*." In this he showed the groundlessness and falsity of these accusations, by actual investigations made by himself and his colleagues, and also by the city government, through properly signed and authenticated statements. Here was direct proof of a very opposite condition of things, and for a time this served to suppress these evil reports. But the fire was only smothered and not quenched, nor could it be, while there was a theological bellows in the neighborhood which constantly fanned the flame.

Balthazar Menzer, chief Court preacher in Darmstadt, had in the beginning openly approved the "Pious Desires" and the propositions which it contained; but he suddenly changed his mind, when another Court preacher, John Winkler, instituted assemblies in his house after the manner of those at Frankfort. Menzer had great influence with the Landgrave, and not only succeeded in having these meetings suppressed, but caused Winkler's removal to Mannheim, whence he was called to a superintendency at Wernheim.

In the meantime, the princely privy councillor at Darmstadt, Kriegsmann, a man of some theological ability and of fine Christian character, appeared as a defender of the *Collegia Pietatis*, in a

small pamphlet, entitled, "Christian Symphony," in which he attempted to show from Matthew xviii. 19, 20, their edifying and salutary effect. In this pamphlet were some allusions to Menzer and his preaching, and this so enraged Menzer, that he caused the advance copies to be bought up, and at the same time had warning letters sent to the Consistories of Darmstadt and Giessen, and the preachers under them, commanding that nothing should be printed for, nor against the question without special permission. Very soon thereafter, through Menzer's influence, Kriegsmann was removed from his position, but was at once taken into the Court of the Elector of the Palatinate.

Besides this, Menzer did not cease to excite the principal residents of Frankfort against Spener, using his pen for the spreading of various slanderous reports and warning against the perils threatening the Church. This caused Spener no little embarrassment. He felt called upon to publish a clear and full exposition of that one of his propositions which he had considered the most important, and which had excited the most opposition to him.

This he did in the pamphlet, "The Spiritual Priesthood briefly described through God's Word." This was of a highly popular character, in the form of questions and answers, supported by many Bible references. In this he showed that the spiritual priesthood with which all Christians are endowed consists in the threefold office of sacrifice, prayer, and the use of God's Word. He said that the Christian should sacrifice himself and all that he possessed; that he was bought and redeemed, body and soul, his worldly goods, his desires and passions, yes, when it became necessary, his life; that he must pray always for

his fellow-beings, and that, finally, he must exercise the office of the Word. This may not consist in a special call to preach; but in the use of the Holy Scriptures for the edification and comfort of one's self and friends, for the proof of preaching and their own relief lest they put too great faith in the words of men, taking care to avoid anything that would cause disorder in the Church. In considering the sacraments, he confessed to faith in their administration by any Christian, especially the rite of baptism, in cases of necessity. But as to the Lord's Supper, while he counseled that no one should serve himself, yet, one might be allowed to do so who was in the spiritual enjoyment of faith, and desirous of its comfort, in the absence of a preacher.

He closed the whole argument on the universal priesthood with an array of authorities taken from the church fathers and also from more modern writers, but especially supported by extracts from Luther.

This little work made a favorable impression and helped greatly to weaken the effect of the evil reports that had been circulated. It was much praised, and was of a character which admitted of no criticism.

But a young theologian, Dr. Hanneken, of Giessen, a nephew of Menzer, and instigated by him, brought out a tract on the "Necessity of Doctrine," which was so full of false and malicious references to Spener, that he felt called upon to reply. But Hanneken was questioned by friends of Spener in Giessen, and declared that he had not aimed these references at him, and thus the controversy was suppressed. But the magistrates of Frankfort were disturbed by all these movements, and at the instance of Menzer seemed ready to

pass such ordinances as were already in force at Darmstadt.

A young woman of noble family, who had been influenced by Spener to a life of pious works and private teaching of the Bible, was commanded to leave the city, as was also a like-minded and equally active young man. But both were known by Spener to be innocent of wrong; he therefore required them to appear before the magistrates to enter protest against this unrighteous treatment, and as a result of this appearance the order was not enforced.

Printers and book-sellers were, also, commanded to print nothing of a religious or edifying character without special examination. When, therefore, in 1678, a second edition of the "Spiritual Priesthood" was required, its issue was prevented by the Council, who finally decided to submit the book to one of the universities for examination. This was opposed by the entire Ministerium, to which Spener had submitted the book before its first appearance in print, and by whom it had been approved.

The Ministerium took up the affair as its own, and complained before the Council of the infringement of its authority. But they received no comfort at the hands of the Council. The publisher, however, was able to obtain the desired permission from the Elector of Saxony, and the circulation of the book was no longer hindered.

There lived in Frankfort at this time, a candidate for the ministry named Franke, the son of a Frankfort senator. This young man made it his business to stir up sentiment against Spener, not only by the circulation of slanderous reports in Frankfort, but by libelous letters addressed to such theologians as were already inclined to

oppose him. This abuse was doubtless due to the fact that the young man was not free from suspicions of immorality, and had been severely reprov'd by the Ministerium on account of improper preaching, for unministerial conduct, and for his unjust and extreme opinions of the ministers of the city, to which he had given free expression.

Although he was despised by the better class of citizens, he succeeded, through dishonest management, in obtaining from the city Council the reversion of the next vacancy in the ministry of the city. This vacancy occurred soon thereafter. But Spener and his colleagues protested so earnestly against his appointment that it was finally prevented. Thus a danger for Spener was turned aside, and when Menzer, who had never ceased to persecute Spener, died in 1679, the calumnies and slanders with which Spener had been burdened, gradually died away, and during the remainder of his stay in Frankfort he had peace and quiet, at least in his immediate surroundings and concerning his own work.

But to what extent Spener suffered under the difficulties attending his work, is shown in the letters written by him at this time, in which he frequently expressed himself concerning them. In a letter addressed to a celebrated theologian, with whom he held correspondence, he says, that during the twenty-seven years in which he had exercised his calling, he had found no more poisonous people and none who opposed more strenuously true and active Christianity than those of his own order and calling. Yet he was able to conduct himself throughout with Christian wisdom and to look upon it as a salutary experience permitted by God for his own testing. In rela-

tion to it he says in one of his German treatises: "I need not say that it is a joy and honor before the Lord to suffer something for the sake of the truth, for which I feel myself unworthy. And I must say that I have found in it this use: that the Lord is able thereby to hold me, and also others, in deeper humility and in many respects to bring us to greater prudence.

"We know that with us men, when we have decided to do a good thing and see the opportunity before us, we sometimes, with the best intention, act with imprudence or venture less carefully than the situation demands. We think that since the cause is good, no evil can come of it; but this often happens, and the good cause is injured. So the Lord teaches us through difficulties to act with great certainty and observation, and to fear for a good cause. The bad will not trouble themselves to molest the bad, but rather the true and honest.

"Then we also know that an unhindered success pleases the old Adam in us and very readily and involuntarily awakes in us a dangerous pride."

Spener says much more in the same spirit, always waiting with patience and prayer the time when the Lord shall again bring his righteous cause to the light. In another place he says: "Next to God's glory my great object is that God shall save my soul and those whom he has entrusted to me. I exercise my office with fear and trembling, and startle before the judgment, which appears more and more dreadful as the more is entrusted to us. As I now think how near I may be to such judgment, nearer than I or any other may think, I see that I have no reason to feel certain; but on all sides to watch if I have

not neglected something which I may hereafter have no opportunity to do. I do not deny that often I know not how to quiet my conscience, and cannot seek counsel enough, since there seems danger to my soul on every side. I consider happy and blessed, those who in other positions find salvation easier and attended with less danger and anxiety. If it were a matter of free will to live in some other office, such cares would have moved me to flee with Jonah to the sea rather than to attempt to fill this dangerous position. It is alone God's call, and my obedience to God's will, which binds me to my duty and consoles me in its exercise."

Spener needed such consolation, not only because of his own affairs, but also because of the circumstances of one of his near and dear relatives. His brother-in-law, Horbius, Ministerial Inspector of the shire of Spanheim, Trarbach, had in the first years of his office been active against the Romanists and Reformed, and also against many of the abuses of the Lutheran Church. Because of this he had incurred the displeasure of some of his hearers, and especially of the princely councils. He was greatly impressed by Spener's "Pious Desires," and not only wrote the Supplement to it, but sought to carry out its propositions. It came about that while on a visit to the Schawlbach Baths, he met with a company of pious persons who were probably from Frankfort. These people held a meeting of the character of those instituted by Spener, for Bible study and prayer. Among these godly persons he experienced an entire change of mind. He felt the impotence of his former efforts, and how he, like many other pastors, was in fault that his hearers were so little affected by his work.

He realized that the implanting of a living Christianity must be begun in quite another manner.

On his return home, he came among his people in a changed frame of mind. He was full of anxiety for a more rapid advancement of the kingdom of Christ. He, therefore, seized an early opportunity to talk of the nature of true Christian belief and obedience, striving against the prevailing feeling of carnal security among his hearers. He showed them that all trust in God's grace, in Christ's merits, and the sacraments, were useless, when the living faith was lacking. In this manner he stung the souls of his hearers until many became embittered. But others aroused from their worldliness came to him of their own will, asking to be taught further in the true way of safety and salvation. Many sent their children to him, and he held evening Bible classes with them, and was thus able to shape their young minds.

But this good work was very soon disturbed by the influence of one of the deacons, Arnold by name. This man had already had difficulty with his earlier Inspectors, and was now greatly offended that Horbius was in possession of an office which he, himself, had hoped to fill. He did not cease in his efforts to excite the disaffected portion of Horbius' congregation against him, and finally complained of him before the Consistorium. He charged him with dangerous novelties and false teaching. Under the last head, he reckoned the use of such words as "Tranquillity," "Daden-
ing," and "Abnegation," which Horbius used in his preaching. The Consistorium dismissed the complaint as groundless; but the deacon turned to the princely government. This Council, which was already unfavorable to Horbius, without

fault of his own, cited him to appear and answer these charges. Although they could not find him guilty of any departure from the pure doctrine, and only found at the most, that he had been too impetuous and not altogether prudent, he was given the choice of being deposed or of resigning from his office. As he hesitated about his resignation, his dismissal was effected. For a time he went to Frankfort and remained with Spener, who was again brought into suspicion for this cause. But later, Horbius was called as superintendent of the Frankish capital of Windesheim, and here he became a most impressive preacher. Through catechisation, Bible-teaching and his excellent pastoral work, as well as his earnest preaching, he so won the love of the City Council and the citizens, that new complaints instigated by his old enemy, Arnold, and joined in by his colleagues, were of no avail against him.

This affair of his brother-in-law was an intimation to Spener of the difficulties which awaited him. He possessed a mind of excellent balance, moderation and justice, and readily gave due credit to pure doctrine, even when mixed with error in the works of others. He did not condemn a man in all things when he was only mistaken in a few things. He exercised this discrimination toward various men with whom he widely disagreed and condemned in many points, but whom he found helpful and profitable in others. He also recommended the use of such books as *The Imitation of Christ* and *Arndt's True Christianity*. These things brought him anew into reproach among his people. He was called Mystic, Quaker and Labadist, and tormented again and again with complaints and suspicions. "Thanks be to God," he says at

this time, "who has permitted us to know the truth, that we dare not rest on the authority of one, nor of many men; but only on our Saviour, Jesus Christ, who is the truth itself, and who through his word reveals himself, in the hearts of his own, that they may not make the conscience subject to other men; but rest upon a sure foundation, in that freedom wherewith the Son makes free."

Spener and Horbius were drawn into public controversy in the year 1679, which continued until the death of two of their antagonists, some five years after its beginning. Dilfeld, one of the chief of these, acknowledged that he had, during this controversy, learned more practical theology than all the schools had been able to teach him. He thanked God for it; but he was never willing to acknowledge his error against Spener. This controversy was concerning the new birth or the new creature in Christ, which Spener claimed was one of the scriptural doctrines of Luther. It was the subject of several books which appeared from the hands of Spener and Dilfeld during the continuance of this controversy.

The difficulties growing out of Spener's efforts for the reform of church life, called his attention to the defects in the constitution of the Lutheran Church. He was now satisfied that if the Evangelical Church had its organization more strongly grounded on God's word, it would not be subjected to so much controversy, so many divisions and schisms, and that the healing of her wounds would be an easier task, since her inner life would be much stronger. He had found the church government in Strasburg much better than in Frankfort, especially in the matter of choosing pastors, and knew well the advantage of it. The

Frankfort Ministerium finally authorized a treatise to be published on this subject, and it was accordingly prepared by Spener. This treatise was based upon the idea that the entire Christian Church and each congregation was the household of Christ. To these he had entrusted his treasures: Word, Sacrament and the Keys. But, in order that no confusion might result, these were to be given over by the congregation to the pastoral office for administration.

To this office the congregation should render obedience, providing the minister respected their rights, and should administer his office, especially the power of the Keys, after the Scriptural manner, and remain subordinate to the judgment of the entire Church. If there should be differences over the administration of this office, he mentions two methods of settlement; either by a vote of a majority of the congregation, or by the action of a Council or Consistorium elected by the congregation. He then goes on in part to recommend the establishment of the Episcopate, as a method of government; but finds in it a serious difficulty. The Episcopal office is filled by appointment; the appointment is made by ministers, theologians and governors. Thus the voice of the congregation is lost; the common people are shorn of responsibility, and hence, finally, of interest. These people, he says, while not so learned, have often a good Christian confession and a godly mind, which, in the things to be decided, are often more to be valued than great learning. Spener above all things maintained that the common people should have part in the decisions of the Church and the preservation of its order.

Spener saw with great sorrow the Church torn

by that passionate syncretistic controversy which had its stronghold at Königsberg, and raged long and bitterly among the chief universities. Then, again, a polemical war arose between Wittenberg and Jena.

Spener had taken great care not to be drawn into recent controversies; but in this latter, he was not permitted to keep silent, but was required to present various treatises on the church doctrines in behalf of the Ministerium.

In these required treatises we find many interesting expressions of his doctrine. Indeed much of the responsibility of maintaining pure doctrine in the Church rested upon Spener in these troubled times.

He expresses himself as entirely convinced of the purity and truth of the doctrine exhibited in the symbols of the Lutheran church, which in all disputed points he unconditionally preferred to the doctrinal confession of any other Christian party. He, however, reserved to himself a freedom of judgment quite unusual for the time. He looked upon the symbolical books as the writings of men, which must be subordinated to the Holy Scripture, and never looked upon as the foundation and rule of faith. He attributed no infallibility to them, and did not look upon them as a perfect system of Theology, which cut off all further scientific development of doctrine.

Although he was convinced of the general truth of their contents, he wished that the freedom might always be maintained to test them by the Word of God. He laid upon them no absolute value for the Church, but a relative and historical one, and declared that one might discard them without heresy, excepting as to those points immediately sustained by Holy Scripture.

He considered them especially useful as a public witness to the doctrines of the Church before friend and foe, as the norm of decision in internal theological controversy, and as a basis of doctrine for those who received them because of their agreement with the Word of God.

Spener exhibited a like freedom in his judgment of Luther, whose greatness in the Evangelical Church had always been like a fetter on the minds of men.

The deep honor which he felt for this chosen instrument of God, did not prevent him from remembering that Luther, also, was a man, and had sometimes erred, although he valued Luther's writings next to the Bible.

He says that during his studies under Dannhauer he was urged by him to the study of Luther's writings, and in company with others prepared from them a commentary on the entire Bible. This gave him a very exact knowledge of all the works of the great reformer. Said he: "It is true that Christ and Paul lighted Luther through all places, and the articles of belief and their fruits have hardly been so impressively treated since the time of the Apostles, as they were by him. And were such writings more industriously read, there would be a better foundation laid in many of our universities than is now made to serve the purpose. Yet I require as little as Luther himself would have done that his writings be apotheosized; for while I find in them a glorious spiritual power, I find in them also the man, especially where he writes of the prophets." In another place he speaks of Luther's translation of the Bible as an inimitable work in which, however, he (Luther) has not always found the exact sense, and adds: "A giant remains great

and a dwarf small, and there is no comparison to be made between them; but if the dwarf stands upon the shoulders of the giant, he sees yet further than the giant, since this great stature lifts him above himself.

“Therefore, it is no wonder that, often, a dwarf, who is far enough from being a great teacher like Luther, finds something in the Scripture which Luther had not found, after having the advantage of all of Luther’s learning, without which he could not have found it. Luther remains the general teacher, but occasionally the scholar discovers something here and there which the preceptor did not. It is not, then, pure temerity when one dissents from Luther’s translations, or other writings, and shows where they can be bettered; neither is it to his reproach, that according to God’s ordering, the Spirit of the prophets should have other subjects.”

Spener did not hesitate to show occasionally in his preaching, where the original Scripture gave the text a more exact meaning, and above all to denounce the delusion that one already had salvation, when he only possessed the true, pure doctrine of Luther. He also deplored the violence of some of Luther’s polemical writings, believing them to be moved by the carnal mind, which sometimes hindered the course of the Church. But all this he excused, because of the dangers and hardships of the time, and found a special, providential wisdom, in the association of the powerful reformer with the learned and more moderate Melanchthon. “True,” he says, “one cannot be satisfied with Melanchthon’s later theological tendency; but his distinguished services in behalf of the Lutheran Church and her theology must ever be held in thankful remembrance.”

Declaring at all times the freedom of judgment and of love as against the prejudices of the time, Spener treated the followers of other confessions with a gentleness unusual for the period. He held with unshaken confidence to the declaration that the Lutheran Church was unequaled by any other in purity of doctrine and fidelity to the faith. Yet he was far from believing, with the narrowness of the time, that outside of the Lutheran Church no one could be saved. "Jesus Christ," said he, "must be a poor King, when the only subjects of his kingdom of grace are those within the narrow limits of the Lutheran Church. His government is over all the world and among many dispersions, wherever he is able to discover his own. He has surely among other denominations sown the good seed; and even though they should fail in the letter of the Confession, yet by divine light they are able to conceive the divine essentials upon which salvation rests."

It deserves to be remarked that the great mildness which Spener observed toward other denominations was the result of many experiences after the course of years.

In the first years of his experience in Frankfort he had violently opposed the Reformed Church, had preached against their proselyting and warned against their doctrines. His assistance had already been sought in an effort to unite these two great divisions of the Church in Germany, the Lutheran and Reformed; but Spener refused to join in any consideration of the matter. How greatly his feelings changed toward the Reformed branch of the Protestant Church, was shown when, in 1685, the revocation of the edict of Nantes concerning the Huguenots in France was

followed by its awful results. No day passed that he did not think of them with earnest sympathy and prayer. He looked upon them as martyrs to the general cause of Protestantism, and admonished the people to observe public prayers in their behalf in the Lutheran churches. He advised that influence be used for them with the government, and that fugitives be kindly received. In these circumstances he realized the danger awaiting all Protestants at the hands of Rome, and felt that a union of the Protestant divisions might be beneficial. This appeared to him difficult; the more so as the disposition of the churches had been embittered toward one another by controversy. He believed that the first step must be to distinguish between the essential and unessential in doctrine, in order to quiet controversy, and that in unimportant matters an entire amnesty must prevail. He believed, however, that this union could not take place in Germany, but thought that it must begin with Sweden, Denmark and England. Contrary to his expectations, however, this union was effected in the first quarter of the present century, in Prussia, where Spener spent his last days.

Toward the close of his work in Frankfort, Spener's pen was again engaged in a defense of Lutheran doctrine, against the encroachments of Rome and the ever-threatening possibility of Protestant and Catholic union. To this end he brought out two more books, which were written under pressure of hard work and illness. But with all, he was able so profitably to employ every minute that he still had some time to devote to his favorite study, history. Through his wide historical knowledge he was interested in heraldry and was the founder of the heraldry of

Germany. He published two very valuable works on this subject, which were noted as exhibiting unusual industry, broad reading and diverse historical knowledge.

Spener had spent twenty years in Frankfort. They had been years of hard and difficult work; but they had been richly blessed with good results; for he was now looked upon as a bright light in the Evangelical Church.

The Elector of Saxony, John George, the Third, on a journey to his army on the Rhine, made a short stay in Frankfort. While there, he heard Spener preach, and was pleased with him personally and as a preacher.

The Saxon Court preacher, Dr. Lucius, was old and feeble, and in May, 1684, the Elector, through Baron Seckendorf, who was Spener's friend, caused the latter to be called to Dresden as court preacher, confessor, Church Councilor and member of the Chief Consistorial Council.

This position was at that time the first in the entire Evangelical Church. Saxony had been the cradle of the Reformation, and the Elector was looked upon as the most distinguished and powerful of all the Protestant princes. The office was one which exerted the most important influence on the religious condition of the greatest of the German provinces, and brought its occupant in touch with the most celebrated and learned theologians of the chief universities.

These facts caused Spener to hesitate about his acceptance. He did not believe that he possessed the gifts necessary for such a position. He also felt that the methods which he had heretofore successfully used and which he felt called upon to continue, would not be of value there. He felt, further, that his popular sermonizing, so

helpful to the masses, would not be suited to a Court congregation. He was, moreover, deeply attached to his Frankfort congregation and the people of the city, and every effort was used by his friends here for his detention. While he hesitated, he was seized with a dangerous illness, which continued for seven months. When finally he recovered, Dr. Lucius died, and again Spener was called to the Dresden office.

Still he did not trust himself to accept the call; but placed the matter in the hands of the magistrates at Frankfort, with elaborate arguments for and against his acceptance. But the magistrates refused to decide, and again Spener sought assistance by seeking counsel of five theologians, unknown to each other. These decided unanimously that the call was divine, and Spener communicated his acceptance to the Elector in a letter which touchingly expresses his anxious and prayerful obedience to the divine call.

CHAPTER IV.

SPENER AS COURT-PREACHER AT DRESDEN—CONDITION OF THE SAXON CHURCH—HIS PRACTICAL ACTIVITY.

ON the eleventh of July, 1686, Spener entered upon the duties of his new position with courage and cheerfulness. His first sermon was preached in the court chapel, from Matthew v. 20-26, in which, after greeting all those present, the Electoral family, the assembled statesmen, his new colleagues, the city of Dresden, and the entire land, he treated of the false pharisaical and the true Christian righteousness with relation to the pastoral office. In closing he reminded his hearers with noble frankness what his duties would be as a servant of Christ and a keeper of God's mysteries. This and the next sermon following, from the novelty of their treatment, their earnestness and practical tendency, produced considerable excitement.

Many felt themselves injured by the truth without being able to reply. Even the Elector confessed that he had not desired his heart to be so moved.

Spener realized with thanksgiving that a divine blessing rested upon his work. But he soon had occasion to feel some of the difficulties of his new position. The uncertain ground of a court was not the place where a man of such earnestness, candor and Christian zeal would find himself

most comfortable. He entered upon his work with great prudence, seeking the assistance and approval of his colleagues in every good work that he projected. But from the beginning he was received with jealousy by the other ministers of Dresden, who had in preparation for him many a bitter hour.

Despite his kindly attitude toward his colleagues, he could not win their good will or assistance. It was not long until they complained of him before the Consistorium, and charged him with saying in a sermon that heretofore the doctrine of justification had not been correctly preached in Dresden.

In regard to this Spener says: "I have not found the world here different from elsewhere, only that the wickedness differs in some respects, and I can hardly say whether it is bolder or more subtle. But the Court-devil here is like that of other courts, with the claws perhaps a little more concealed. The same spirit rules the children of unbelief in Dresden that ruled them in Frankfurt. The same spirit under another form."

Because of these difficulties, Spener took occasion to treat in his sermons many of the more important Christian doctrines, with strenuous earnestness, from the standpoint of orthodox Lutheranism, and to present these as the basis of his future work. This he did to fortify himself against any suspicion of heterodoxy, and because, as he expressed it: "The prospect of Christianity in Saxony was a gloomy one." "No where," says he, "has the stiff orthodoxy, the scholastic treatment of dogmatics, the passionate polemics, the unfruitful method of preaching, struck such deep roots as here."

This condition of things was nourished and

nursed by both of the Saxon Universities. Wittenberg was now declining, but Leipzig was rising in importance. In both universities, dogmatics, polemics and philosophy, were the chief and important studies, and a galaxy of notable men gave them entire attention; but the teaching of Biblical exegesis was abandoned. Many of the most distinguished of the professors of these universities had openly approved and praised Spener's labors in the Church in their writings and otherwise. Among these were Carpzov, Mayer, Peiffer, Alberti and Olearius. They had gone so far as to characterize him as a man of highest value to the Church. On his removal to Dresden, Wittenberg had sent him a most flattering Latin poem, and the theological faculty of Leipzig had tendered him warm congratulations. But behind these expressions was hidden secret ill-will. While yet in Frankfort, Spener had been warned against Carpzov, of Leipzig, and his brother, who was a member of the Consistory in Dresden.

Although up to this time his relations with both of these men had been the most pleasant, it became evident that jealousy of Spener's position caused great disaffection toward him. These circumstances were all the more trying to Spener, since the improvement of these universities was not only his earnest wish, but now belonged to the duties of his office.

He says at this time: "I see about me the great power of Satan and his established kingdom, and many difficulties which are beyond the hope and help of men to overcome. But against them all I set the might of God, which nothing can withstand, and at whose call I am here, the same that hath sent me. He is faithful, and will

not leave my poor but obedient efforts without fruit or blessing. I rest upon this, and hope where there seems nothing to hope for, waiting with patience for such blessing as God gives." Time and place and measure of results he did not question; but sought only the will of God with patient service.

His chief concern was to bring the ministry to greater purity and spirituality, and the schools to the study of the Bible and the exercise of piety in the place of scholastic hair-splitting. He believed that God would reveal widening opportunities for good works to those who waited upon His will.

In this Spener was not disappointed. The preaching of the Word, his pastoral activity, the examination of candidates, and the work of the Consistory, were not without fruits. A special blessing seemed to rest upon that work which had proved of such value in his pastoral experience. This was the teaching of the Catechism. In his present office he was not under obligations to pursue this; but after an expression of his willingness to do so, the children of the Elector and a few friends were sent to his house for instruction. The attendance was free to everybody, and soon became so great that the class was removed to one of the chapels of the palace. This large attendance was made up of children and adults of both sexes, and was a rich opportunity for the exercise of Spener's peculiar teaching gift, and was the more eagerly improved as he hoped that other pastors throughout the land would follow his example.

In a sermon preached before the Saxon Diet, he referred, among other things, to the great value of catechetical instruction, and many of the

nobility were induced by this reference to attend the examination of his class. They were much pleased with the manner in which it was conducted, and not long afterward, a law was passed requiring catechisation in all the churches in Saxony.

Spener regretted that a law to this effect was necessary. It would have been much more encouraging had such instruction been entirely voluntary; but the disposition of only too many of the pastors was such that they felt it quite beneath them to concern themselves with such "child's play," as they expressed it. There were even those among the clergy who complained that instead of the court preacher which he sought, the Elector had got a school-master.

But Spener despised this mocking, and in the end, saw a rich harvest from his persevering work, and the whole Evangelical Church has him to thank for the now general custom of teaching candidates for confirmation and for catechetical examinations.

Spener was also the first to practically divorce theology from the Latin language, and bring into use the German. In the exercise of his office he insisted on holding the examinations of all candidates for the ministry in the German language. He took no notice of the abuse which was heaped upon him for this. He said he was not so much concerned as to how well a candidate expressed himself in the Latin language, but that he was seriously concerned as to how deeply he was grounded in the Christian Confession, and how well he was prepared to speak of spiritual things. He found that he was much better able to discover these essential qualifications when a man expressed himself in his mother tongue, and did

not occupy himself with the use of a strange language.

But the most important part of Spener's work in Dresden, as in Frankfort, was his preaching. It was intelligently directed toward the teaching of essential doctrines and the spiritual upbuilding of his people through the unfolding of scriptural truth. His sermons were shorn of all that was merely rhetorical and ethical or controversial. They had, also, a popular character and a practical tendency. Such preaching soon excited attention, then applause and admiration, and his sermons were solicited for printing. From the year 1688 he published three annual courses of sermons: "The Evangelical Doctrines," "The Evangelical Duties" and "The Evangelical Consolations." These sermons were plain, solid, and full of Christian warmth.

In his private lectures Spener made use of the Bible in the original languages, as he was not entirely satisfied with the various commentaries. In his exegesis he adopted the best methods of several of the most learned commentators of the time, and strove to avoid the extremes of allegory on the one hand, and scholastic literalness on the other.

While yet in Frankfort, at one of the house-meetings held there, Spener had been asked how one should know the new creature in Christ, and how discover if such a work were of nature or of grace. Some were anxious to know how they should be able to know that they were living in a condition of grace. His argument of this question, in its essential points, with its scriptural proofs, was written down by a divinity student who was present. In 1687 this argument appeared in Saxony in print, under the title of

“Nature and Grace.” With this he had hoped to begin that awakening of the Saxon clergy to better things, which was one of the chief objects always in view in his present office.

He had already discovered that the corruption of the Saxon Church was due to three chief causes: 1st. The entire exclusion of the common people from any part in the church government and congregational life. 2d. The small number of preachers, nearly all of whom had charge of numerous congregations; and 3d. The negligence and indifference of these preachers.

The two first of these causes could only be removed by the government; and that this should occur seemed very doubtful. This made it the more necessary to work through the servants of the Word, to fill them with a new spirit, and through them to bring a new stream of life into the distracted Church.

Especially were there three things from which he expected help: the edifying proclamation of God’s word; the judicious teaching of the Catechism, and the worthy conduct of the spiritual office in connection with earnest pastoral service.

From years of experience he had learned that the first essential of a spiritual sermon was the exposition of the Scripture text. Every sermon, he declared, must be directed toward a single object of edification; that it must appeal in part to the intellect, and partly to the wills of the hearers. He believed that this would occur when the text should be the most exactly explained, and the truth contained in it applied as teaching, warning and consolation.

He presented as the *norm* of the spiritual sermon, that it must follow the text, and that no new matter must be introduced, the more es-

pecially as such treasures were always to be found in it. This rule, he thought, admitted of but one exception: When a preacher was limited to a fixed text, and this text did not contain the matter which he found it necessary to use, he believed that love should prevail over all art and every rule, and that for the sake of edification the text and the sermon might be forced to the purpose. In the case of a free choice of texts, he believed that the natural method must always be followed. He expressed a preference for evangelical teaching being made the chief thing; that of redemption, justification and sanctification. He declared himself positively against the continual preaching of the law which was then practiced because of the corrupt times. He recognized its value in awakening sinners to repentance; but believed that every preacher was above all called to announce the gospel of salvation, which brought the spirit of faith, through which was wrought the sanctification of life. He declared that he who preached the Gospel with prudence and power, would see from it more fruit among the unrepentant and godless than from all the thunders of the law. He reproached the mere preaching of morality as useless, since it was separated from faith, the central principle of Christian life. He finally warned against introducing controversy into the pulpit, and strove to lead the preaching back to apostolic simplicity. He carefully, and in detail, instructs the preacher in the preparation of sermons, the proper use of the Catechism, and the administration of the sacraments, that they might all be the means of bringing the Church to a better condition.

Spener sought further to improve the condition of the Church by carrying on theological corres-

pondence with various persons in Saxony, and finally included in it the whole of Germany.

For some years he had been looked upon as the chief spiritual and theological counselor for all Germany, and when he entered upon the duties of his office in Dresden, it became necessary for the Elector to procure frankage for letters received and sent by him. At one time, he assured a friend, that during one year he had carefully answered six hundred and twenty-two letters, and that three hundred remained unanswered.

CHAPTER V.

PIETISTIC CONTROVERSIES — SPENER'S DIFFICULTY WITH THE ELECTOR—HIS CALL TO BERLIN.

DURING Spener's residence in Dresden, the Pietistic Movement brought on that controversy which disturbed all his after life, and which long after his death distracted the Lutheran Church. Influenced by the general movement which was the result of Spener's work in Frankfort, three young men of Leipzig founded a society for the closer study of the Bible in the original.

These men were Augustus Hermann Francke, Paul Anton, and John Caspar Schade.

The two former were private lecturers on theology in the Leipzig University. These three were joined by other professors, who were eminent for their piety and learning.

Francke made a visit to Spener in Dresden and returned filled with zeal for the promotion of true religious life among the people. But soon false reports were circulated concerning him, charges against him were sent to Dresden and every effort was made to suppress the pietistic movement in the university. For the time being these efforts were successful, and the prime movers in the direction of aggressive Christianity were forced to leave the city.

The downfall of this movement in Leipzig, in which Spener had hoped much for the church, caused him no little disappointment; but he was engaged in another matter which in part with-

drew his attention from it. This was a controversy over an extremely strenuous form of confessional subscription adopted by the Hamburg Ministerium, and especially directed toward Spener and his friends. It was calculated to cast reproach upon them and debar them from all fellowship with others in the Lutheran Church. In many places this form was severely condemned; but the theologians of Kiel, Wittenberg, Lübeck and Greifswald, treated it with favor when their opinions were required. Spener was then appealed to, and also the three General Superintendents: Fischer of Riga, Alard of Oldenberg, and Meyer of Wolfenbüttel. These men also published treatises upon it, and this created a most unhappy division in the entire Church. Spener was accused in public tracts of being the patron of all errors, as the founder of the hated house-gatherings (for prayer and Bible study) and the proper cause of the Hamburg disturbance. As a defence against these reproaches he prepared an excellent little work entitled: "The Freedom of Believers from the views of men in matters of Faith." In this he nobly defended the freedom of the Church, and made it the occasion of a free expression of his theological opinions. He condemned the attempt made by the Hamburg Ministerium to bind the entire Church by this strenuous form of subscription, and thus cause the division of congregations. He again more decidedly set forth the doctrine of the spiritual priesthood, the pastoral office, the supremacy of God's Word, and the right of its interpretation. He denied the right of the universities to bind men's consciences by their opinions; but held them valuable in matters of counsel, in so far as their faculties were learned sincere and spiritual.

He claimed the right of freedom and adaptation in the use of orders of worship, and praised the Augsburg Confession and the authors of the Form of Concord for their wisdom in leaving these unessential matters free; especially as it had proved so salutary, in the course of the Church's history, that in almost all of the larger cities the various churches differed from each other in the use of these things.

Much was written on both sides of the question; Spener's decided inclination to Chiliasm was discussed, being incidentally related to the attitude of the Hamburg Ministerium toward the Chiliastic writings of Jacob Böhme. But finally a short-lived amnesty was obtained through a compromise, and controversy was for the time suppressed.

In the meantime, Spener was laboring under another difficulty that caused him yet more anxiety and embarrassment. Following the example of his predecessors in office, Spener took occasion, on a fast day in February, 1689, to admonish the Elector concerning his disposition and life. He did this, urged to action by his conscience, in the character of confessor to the prince, by letter, and in a modest but earnest manner. At first the Elector was shocked and touched by this appeal; but later, excited by his courtiers against Spener, he felt himself offended, and was seized with a violent dislike for the man who had presumed to censure and correct him. He sent the letter back to Spener with a long and rambling answer which, though not severe toward Spener, accused other persons of instigating the action. These innocent persons he threatened with serious punishment for the supposed injury.

Spener hastened, in a second letter, to assure

the Elector that the step was taken without the knowledge or co-operation of any other person, that it was done by him alone, in the discharge of his official duty. But this letter was returned to him by the privy Councilor unopened. After this the Elector never again attended Spener's preaching; and at communion was served by another preacher. For a time Spener wished to resign; but supported by the consciousness of his innocence, he continued in the administration of his office. This condition of affairs remained the same for a year, and there was hope that the anger of the Elector would finally subside. But it happened that in conversation with a person of rank, the Elector was assured that this person had been shown copies of the offensive letter sent by Spener and the answer thereto. The Elector, believing this, was again made furious against Spener. The latter was questioned in the matter by two privy Councilors sent by the Elector; but his assurances that the letters had never passed out of his hands, and that no one had copied a line of them, were all made in vain. The Elector determined upon the removal of Spener from his service, and was not long in finding a suitable occasion to accomplish this. The position of Provost, or superintendent in the St. Nicholas Church at Berlin was left vacant, and Spener was quietly approached concerning his acceptance of the position. His answer was an evasive one, and Teuber was called to the position in his stead. But Teuber lived only a few months after taking charge of his new office, and the Brandenburg government formally repeated the call to Spener.

Others might have looked upon this unconditionally as a divine call, and have gladly seized

the opportunity to free themselves from a difficult situation; but not so Spener. He answered, that he was ready to go anywhere that God would lead him, as soon as he was certain that he was divinely called to another position. He was not yet satisfied that he should leave an office to which he had evidently been divinely led, although he was no longer able to work in it as he wished to do. Not until the Brandenburg government and the Saxon should come to an agreement in the matter, without any intervention of his own, should he feel that the will of God was in it.

The Brandenburg government did not understand the situation of Spener at Dresden, and did not suppose that his resignation would be accepted at the Saxon Court. No advance in the matter was therefore made, and the negotiations ceased. In the meanwhile, at the approach of the winter of 1690, the Saxon Elector returned from his campaign on the Rhine. He soon complained that he could not live in his palace because of Spener, and sought to obtain his resignation, promising him a considerable pension for the rest of his life, in case he would transfer his services elsewhere. But Spener declined decidedly the whole proposition; first, because it would seem to admit a suspicion of fault and offense toward the Elector; and again, because he would not of his own will lay down an office to which he had been divinely directed. The Saxon Princess, wife of the Elector, especially loved Spener and prized his services, and she now strove to act as a pacifying agent between Spener and her husband. She proposed that Spener should occupy a City Church instead of the Palace Chapel; but this Spener, also, declined to do. The Elector would

hear no reason in the matter of Spener's removal; but continued in his determination to accomplish it. A hint from the Saxon Court about the situation reached Berlin, and immediately formal propositions for Spener's removal were sent to the Elector by the Brandenburg Government. The Elector, with his own hand, wrote the required dismissal, granting with it all costs of travel and a pension to Spener for life, which reverted to his wife in case she survived him. Two days after came the call from Berlin to the office of Provost, which included that of Inspector and Consistorial Councilor.

The parting of Spener with the Princess and her two young sons was painful and reluctant; and was never entire, since Spener remained the Counselor and Confessor of the Princess through the long years of her widowhood, the Elector not long surviving the departure of Spener.

CHAPTER VI.

SPENER AS PRESIDENT OF THE CONSISTORY, AND
PROVOST AT BERLIN—PIETISTICAL EXTREMES—
THE CONFESSIONAL — PIETISTIC CONTROVERSY —
ATTEMPTS AT CHURCH UNION.

THUS had the providence of God led Spener in his appointed work from the South to the North through Germany. His present position was not at all equal in outward splendor or in revenue to the one which he had just vacated; but he did not consider it from a worldly point of view. He saw only the work which was to be done in the name of the Lord, and rejoiced sincerely at the change. He found in the great Church broader opportunities for good than in the small Court congregation at Dresden. He soon observed in his hearers an earnest desire for the powerful preaching of God's Word. He also found the Lutheran Church here much better than those outside the State had thought; not, however, in relation to its evangelical life, but in its relation to the State. The ruling Elector, Frederick the Third, was Reformed; but he treated the Lutheran and Reformed Churches with equal love and justice. The earlier strife between these denominations had been entirely quieted, while the liberties of the Lutheran Church were in no way interfered with. Lutherans were not limited in the use of their orders of worship, and had the liberty of preaching from the pulpit concerning the points in dispute between them and the Reformed

Church, on the sole condition that they refrained from offensive language and slanders. The government provided for the prosperity of the Lutheran Church, by proper ordinances for the examination of candidates, and the teaching of the Catechism by the preachers. The custom of exorcism at baptism was left free to those who desired it; but no one dared to force it upon others.

Spener found here that spirit of love and gentleness in which the Church has never failed to prosper.

To these conditions Spener, with his wisdom and moderation, was admirably suited to move forward toward the possession of those excellent opportunities to which he was especially called. The love and respect with which he was received increased, and it continued in undiminished strength long after his death, nor was it ever shaken through all the attacks and calumnies to which he was subjected by his enemies. This fidelity enabled him to serve the people with great success and benefit, not only in local affairs, but throughout the entire province. His work in the Consistory was the same that he had had in Dresden; but as Provost, he was entirely free from official and pastoral work. He was, however, obliged to preach twice each week, to superintend the schools and inspect the diocese. From the beginning of his work here, he took up of his own accord the catechisation of the people, and continued it with his usual zeal. Spener's actual work here was much more burdensome than it had been in Dresden; but his relations with his colleagues were pleasant, and his duties were much lightened, when a few months after his arrival in Berlin, John Caspar Schade was appointed his assistant in office.

During the same year, Spener was much disquieted by the prospect of being recalled to Dresden. The Elector died, and Spener's return became the subject of discussion at the Saxon Court, but was followed by no result at that time. Later, his return was proposed; but the proposition met with no encouragement.

He might have now enjoyed in peace and quietness a rich and blessed harvest from his years of Christian labor, had he not again been attacked by his adversaries and drawn into one controversy after another. These disputes lasted long after his death; and while he lived he was daily called to mourn for the storm-shaken Church.

He had guarded his movements in the Church with the greatest care. He had striven to bind into one the intelligence and holy life of the Church, and had always warned against an empty enthusiasm. But to his account were charged all of the excesses into which pietism fell. Pulpits, tracts and books were used as means of attack, and became the instruments of a bitter war of words. All the chief theologians of Germany were joined to one party or the other in attacking or defending the Pietists. The term Pietist became a nick-name for all departures from custom and every heresy or schism in the Church.

The faithful preaching of Spener, his zealous efforts to purify the Church and advance the cause of vital religion, were no doubt the prime cause of these disputes. And as the truth is always attended by error, there can be no doubt but that many perversions and abuses attended the wide-spread results of his work. There were not a few fanatical souls whose test of religion

was asceticism, a manner of walk, a style of clothing or a form of speech. Some, and these usually women, pretended or imagined themselves to be inspired, or especially illuminated in mind as to the Scriptures.

Spener had adopted the more moderate and purer form of Chiliasm, believing that the Church of God would be purified from every evil, and finally reign supreme in the world. Many others, however, seized upon this idea and carried it to a most extravagant length.

Hypocrisy, which is a pretending to something that we do not possess, and which may arise from design or from self-deception, was another result of the movement. This kind of affectation was adopted by several of the German princes and also by the king of Denmark, and was the cause of a wide-spread assumption of pious manners and speech, in order to gain favor with these courts. There was also temptation to run into extreme religious excitement. There were many religious meetings for edification, and the edification was by means of singing hymns, offering prayer and reading the Scriptures. Connected with this was also Scripture reading and worship in the family. This was all to be desired in moderation; but some laid stress on the number of meetings attended, the length of prayers, and the mingling of religion in common conversation. The outward act, and not the spirit and life, became the object in the eyes of many; and merit was therefore attached to the observance of these things.

All this Spener bitterly deplored; but he nevertheless held himself above the injuries to which he was subjected, either by his followers or his adversaries. He strove by every means to teach

the truth in all moderation and to bear himself with loving kindness toward all.

The establishment of the University of Halle was one of the most important events in the life of Spener, as it was also in the history of the Pietistic controversies and the Protestant theology. It was the carrying out of one of Spener's chief desires, and was due to his representations of its great value in shaping the future of the Church in a province of so much importance. As we shall hereafter see, it became the stronghold of moderate Church reforms and of a strong philanthropic and religious life.

Amid the distresses and great disquiet caused by the Pietistic questions, there arose still another, which, Spener complained, brought him the most difficult experiences of his life.

Among the many corruptions of the Lutheran Church, Spener looked upon the abuse of the Confessional as one of the greatest. Private Confession had been unknown in the ancient Church; but had become a custom of the Catholics, which was enforced by law in the thirteenth century. It was meant to afford the priest opportunity for an exact knowledge of the spiritual condition of his church members, that he might, according to need, administer rebuke and admonition. Luther had this praiseworthy object also in view when he insisted on retaining Private Confession in the Church, although he did not consider it necessary to the proper enjoyment of the holy communion. But now, as confession was practiced, together with the absolution following, it had come to be with many an *opus operatum* which but served as an assurance of carnal security. Spener had long deplored and opposed this mistake in his experience with his congregations. He had not hesi-

tated to tell frankly what a burden and martyrdom the confessional was for conscientious preachers, because of the forgiveness of sin announced to so many unworthy and unrepentant persons who were but strengthened in their sins. The power to forgive sin he said was not a human attribute, but a divine grace through which fallen sinners were reconciled to God and the congregation, and strengthened in soul. But the present custom of going to confession and seeking absolution at certain times in order to be admitted to communion he considered useless and even harmful. The confessor's fee, or *Beicht-pfennig*, he considered a shame to the Church and had long desired it to be discontinued. But he saw no hope of this, partly because of the poverty of many of the preachers, and in part because of the advantage gained through it over their congregations, he believed that it would be easier to move heaven and earth than to rob them of this idol.

His assistant, Schade, was particularly averse to the confessional; and being of a melancholy disposition, its use so disturbed him that he was relieved of the formal hearing of confession at the confessional, and was placed in the sacristy where he should have opportunity to speak from the heart with the erring children of the Church. But this did not quiet his anxiety, and in a short time he published a small tract, entitled: "A Few Questions from the Confessional." He hoped to receive satisfactory answers to this, but did not. He, therefore, soon followed with another: "Practice of the Confessional and Communion."

This little work was so severe in its character and expressions, that Spener declared that when he read it, he was shocked almost to death.

Schade admitted the great value that Luther

had foreseen in the confessional; but said that his practical experience had taught him different things concerning it. That while it was not always injurious or valueless, that its limited value was no compensation for its dreadful abuses. "Praise it who will," he says, "I say, *Beichtstuhl! Satanstuhl! Feuerpfuhl!*"

These hard expressions caused general excitement in the Church, which Schade further increased by assembling those who were to commune in the sacristy on the following Sunday all together, instead of singly, where he publicly and touchingly admonished them. Then he knelt in prayer for them, and repeated a general confession aloud, instructed them how to prepare in the most worthy way for communion, and having absolved them all together, and aloud, dismissed them with the benediction. This occurred two successive Sundays, and meanwhile Schade refused to occupy the private confessional.

The congregations and the ministerium were disquieted and divided in sentiment. Spener sympathized with his colleague, but also blamed him for his rashness. A number of citizens demanded that Schade be required to return to the customary use of the confessional or that he be removed from office. The Elector, being now in Prussia, caused an investigation of the complaints and demands to be made. The commission appointed to examine into the matter was composed of one Berlin magistrate, nine Lutheran members of the Electoral Council, and the Ministerium of the St. Nicholas Church. A deputation of citizens, through an advocate, presented their complaint against Schade, who most excellently defended himself in person.

But another body of citizens from Berlin and

Coeln also appeared by an advocate, and objected to the complaint which had been made without their knowledge or consent, and pleaded earnestly for their true-hearted preacher and pastor. They also demanded that the use of the private confessional be left free to every person according to conscience, and that those who wished, be admitted to communion without confession.

They said that until they had been taught better, they had made an idol of the confessional, and had believed that without private confession there was no forgiveness of sin. Now they knew, that while in the Church confession and absolution was necessary, private confession was not, that Luther had not so held it, and that Christ had instituted the holy communion without it. They admitted that private confession had long been an offense to them, and that they had only submitted to it through obedience to the order of worship in use.

Spener was greatly surprised by this unexpected interference and the expression of these adverse sentiments. He had been entirely ignorant of the mind of the people on the subject. One of the Electoral Council had complained privately to him in the same manner; but he had come from an Alsatian congregation where the use of the confessional had not been required, and Spener had advised him quietly to accept the custom for fear of offense and divisions. But while he was striving to bring about peace and quiet in the Church, Spener now foresaw the beginning of new disquiet and division as the result of this disturbance. Nor was he disappointed. The commission was asked to express themselves severally in writing concerning the question ;

and so closely was the matter argued that no decision was reached. It was then referred to the two Ministeriums of Coeln and Berlin to suggest means by which the confessional should be freed from its abuses, and especially to find means by which the offensive confessor's fee should be discontinued and the preacher be indemnified for its loss. Meanwhile, Spener strove to quiet the citizens by kindly warnings as to the difficulties and divisions likely to occur should their demands be persisted in; but as he was unsuccessful in this, he finally allowed the most zealous against the confessional to receive communion after a preparatory sermon and confession and absolution.

Writings appeared, however, that added new fuel to the fire, and Spener strove from the pulpit to influence his people to return to the old order of things, and to heal the differences between them. But the party zeal was too great, and continued to embitter the Church long after Schade's death, which occurred in July, 1694, before the commission had time to render a decision in the matter of the confessional.

But a decision was finally reached in November of the same year, and the Elector announced that the use of the private confessional should remain to those who desired it; but that every Saturday afternoon a preparatory sermon should be preached to communicants, and that those to whom private confession was offensive should be allowed to commune without it, provided they presented themselves during the preceding week to the pastor for preparation in the line of his pastoral office.*

* The frequency of the preparatory sermon and communion was due to the large numbers of people included in a single congregation. Some were obliged to commune every Sunday in order to reach the whole congregation once or twice a year.

Wittenberg and Leipzig and other schools and pastorates now joined in the dispute, which did not fail in painful condemnation, accusation, and grave misunderstanding, in which too great zeal and passion sometimes obscured truth and justice.

While Spener was engaged with these immediate difficulties, the pietistic strife again broke out, and writings appeared in which Spener was so misrepresented that he felt obliged to defend himself for the sake of the Church and his position. This renewed controversy did not soon abate. Spener was often compromised by the extreme expressions and conduct of those claiming to be true Pietists, and again by the appearance of certain works of a decidedly Chiliastic character, which he had not known of and did not even read.

A long dispute was again renewed over the proper conduct of church members, the Pietists demanding that dancing, theatre-going, novel reading, elegant and gay clothing and improper modes of conversation be abjured, while the great majority of the pastors and church members held them to be quite indifferent matters.

It now seemed as if so many persons and opinions had entered into the Pietistic controversy that an increase of the excitement was no longer possible. And yet this occurred through an attempt to unite the two Protestant Churches. The plan for a union of the Lutheran and Catholic Churches which had but lately been proposed was frustrated; and now the moment seemed favorable for a Protestant union. The Elector of Brandenburg had taken upon himself the royal honors of Prussia, and at his coronation he had promoted two court preachers to the bishopric, an overture to the English Church, which was also included in the unionistic plan. A commission

of learned and prominent theologians, both of the Reformed and Lutheran churches was appointed, and among them was included Spener.

But Spener declined to act. He had often been accused of departing from Lutheran doctrine, and he felt that these accusations would seem to be true in case he should act freely in the matter of union.

He had been in favor of union; but felt that it was far from advisable at this time. He believed that the condition of the two branches of the Church would not admit of union, that a better spiritual condition must exist before it would be possible, and that those who could not then live in peace and brotherly love in the Church of their choice, assuredly could not, when united to any dissenting body. He said that the division of the Church was an old and dangerous evil, and that if heedlessly touched, greater evils would result which would prevent the final healing of the Church's wounds; and that it were better to leave the trouble as it was than to attempt so dangerous a cure.

But the Commission met in many sessions. Various proposals for union were submitted, but came to naught. The Pietists were accused of being the chief seekers after union, and again there was an exchange of controversial writings. One of these, by a professor of logic in a gymnasium at Hamburg, Sebastian Edzardi, was so passionate and slanderous against the Pietists, especially Spener, that the theological faculty of Halle complained, and upon an inquiry held by the government, the king ordered the public burning of many of these slanderous writings, and the order was duly executed.

This was the last great commotion in the Church which occurred during Spener's life.

CHAPTER VII.

SPENER'S PRIVATE LIFE—HIS LAST DAYS AND DEATH.

SPENER of all his contemporaries had looked the deepest into the infirmities of the Church, and had worked the most faithfully for their healing according to the powers which God had given him. At the end of his earthly course, he could not fail to be pained by the many distresses and divisions which she yet suffered. But on the other hand he was quickened by the glad conviction that much of the good seed sown by him, through God's grace, was already springing up. He felt that the necessity of a practical Christianity was now beginning to be everywhere felt, and that his ideal was coming nearer to a living reality. Neither were there lacking kindly men, who awakened by his own ministry, were able to carry on the work which he had begun according to his own ideas. His hopes especially rested on the future of the young university in whose establishment he had taken so important a part, and which he had continued to watch over with such loving interest. In this he hoped for the growth of a theology, cleansed from the hardness and corruptions of scholasticism, and by which the younger generation should be led from an empty and rambling pompousness to solid and healthful religious knowledge.

Spener had now come to feel his growing age and weakness; but his interest and activity in the

Church did not in any wise diminish. At his request he had been given an especial assistant in Archdeacon Blankenburg; but the extra time which this appointment afforded him was used for the general good of the Church.

He yet preached twice each week without difficulty, and kept up his usual catechetical teaching and pastoral and consistorial business. In the last years of his life he received great and merited distinction through the appearance of a collection of his theological treatises. These were rich in matters of experience, observation, retrospections and warnings for theologians, preachers and Christians of all stations.

All of these treatises did not appear until after his death. The last of them were finally collected and printed at Frankfort, and only then was it seen in what a wide sphere he had worked. From them were best learned his merits, his gifts, his ideals, his intellect and activity and the exact condition of the Church, and the movements with which he was connected. In all cases one finds him exercising a free, thoughtful and equitable judgment drawn from the fountain of the divine Word, showing reason and knowledge of mankind as well as a deep acquaintance with Christian truth and the foundation of the Evangelical Church. Withal his writings are marked by wisdom and modesty, and they are for all time a treasure to the student and preacher. It is only to be regretted that these writings are of a heavy and tedious style, a fault which was always known and acknowledged by the author.

In this presentation of Spener's public life we have found little room to speak of his home life. The whole of it might be summed up in two words: work and prayer. Every important busi-

ness was begun by calling upon God. He rose while it was yet dark to accomplish that for which he needed no light: he prayed alone, then he assembled his entire household to morning prayers. Every event and movement of life was held up to God in prayer, and then submitted trustfully to the divine will. He slept quietly and healthfully, and rose regularly at half-past five o'clock, and on Sundays at four. He worked the entire forenoon without intermission, and rarely allowed anything to disturb him. He dined at midday and after a short sleep, taken sitting in his chair, went again about his work. In the later afternoon he received all visitors, and during conversation with them he either stood or walked the floor, in order thus to take some necessary exercise. He took his simple evening meal alone in his room to save time. Sunday afternoon he inspected the churches, and upon the way read some book, for which he could find no other time. When he took a journey, he prepared lectures as he traveled. There was a garden behind his house in Berlin, but it is said that he never visited it but twice, and then only for a few minutes. His household and habits of dress were simple, and he always went about the city on foot, never indulging in the luxury of a carriage. He rarely accepted invitations, and on the few occasions that he dined with friends, did not depart from his usual abstemious habits. He was of serene and cheerful, but earnest, speech. Despite his fine discernment of character, he seemed unable to believe that any one could purposely deceive him, and the bitterest experiences in this respect never caused him to close his heart against those seeking his counsel and help. He was a sympathizing friend, a father to the poor and

needy, who never turned from him without comfort and assistance. He was a faithful colleague in office, and an exemplary husband and father. He was not ashamed to confess his faults openly, and often begged his congregation to remind him of his failures, and received such reminders from the commonest people with gentleness and thanks. All these merits were crowned by a sincere humility that was evident in all his words and deeds. He was averse to hearing any public praise of himself or his work. He only allowed his portrait to be painted when his friends represented that he could thereby assist a very poor but worthy artist.

Spener preached for the last time before his congregation early in June, 1704. He then visited his old friend and patron, the widowed Electress, and preached to her on the difference in the death of the believer and the unbeliever. After his return he commenced a letter to a friend but could not finish it, being overtaken by extreme weakness. He became ill and felt that his end was near. On the eleventh of June, he called about him all his colleagues of the St. Nicholas Church. To them he spoke of the agreement of his faith with the doctrines of the Evangelical Church and the Symbolical Books, and of many other things near his heart. He held fast to his faith in better times for the Church, and said that he had striven faithfully to discharge the duties of his office, but that he had failed in much, for which he hoped God would forgive him. He expressed no hope in his own righteousness, but trusted in God's grace through Jesus Christ. He reminded his colleagues of his love for them and of his daily prayers in their behalf, and admonished them earnestly to preserve unity and

peace among themselves. To this he added that he held the pastoral care of the congregation to be the chief treasure of the preacher's office, and regretted that he had been prevented by the duties of office from the exercise of it in Berlin and Dresden. He spoke of his theological adversaries, and called his friends to witness his good will toward them and his good wishes for them. After this, he so far recovered as to be able to work a little in his room, and his friends hoped for his complete restoration; but with the beginning of winter more serious symptoms set in and he grew steadily weaker. As his weakness increased he was filled with ecstatic joy that he knew to be the approach of his final release. On the 13th of January, in the year 1705, which was his seventieth birthday, he prayed aloud, thanking God for his grace and pleading for the forgiveness of his sins. He took leave of the king by letter, begging for his care over the treasures which he left behind him: the Church, the schools and his beloved family.

He forbade his burial in black, saying that he had sorrowed enough over the Church on earth, and wished to enter the Church triumphant, showing by his white garment that he died hoping better things for the Church militant.

Spener died quietly on the 5th of February, 1705. On the evening of the 12th of February, he was buried in the favorite spot chosen by himself. Thousands came to honor this true shepherd as he was borne to his last resting place. In many more his spirit lived on; for he led men from death unto life.

AUGUSTUS HERMANN FRANCKE AND HIS WORK.

BY MARIE E. RICHARD.

"But they that wait upon the Lord shall renew their strength: they shall mount up with wings as eagles."—Isaiah xl. 31.



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AUGUST HERMANN FRANCKE AND HIS WORK.

CHAPTER I.

FRANCKE'S YOUTH AND STUDENT LIFE.

AUGUSTUS HERMANN FRANCKE was born in Lübeck, in the northern part of Germany, on the 22d day of March, 1663. His father, John Francke, was a distinguished lawyer of that city and register of the Ecclesiastical Court. His mother, Anna, was the daughter of David Gloxin, who had been the first mayor of Lübeck. In the year 1666 John Francke was called to Gotha by Ernest the Pious, as Court Counselor and inspector of schools, and removed there with his family. But his service there was short, as he died in 1670, when the young Augustus was but seven years old. He left six living children, Augustus being the fourth, and these the widowed mother continued to guide and educate in the way begun by the father, uniting strict piety with learning and practical intelligence. In this she was materially assisted by her daughter, Anna, a girl of a peculiarly sensitive, religious disposition. Being next older than her brother Augustus, they were much associated together, and to the influence of this sister was doubtless

due much of the early piety exhibited by Francke. Together they read the Bible and those books most calculated to foster a truly religious spirit, and finally Francke begged for a private and secluded room, where, separated from the family and his playmates, he might, undisturbed, pursue his studies and give voice to his frequent prayers.

But Anna died early, and Francke was left to pursue the most important part of his education deprived of this gentle monitor, with whom he had been accustomed to share the counsels of his heart.

In childhood Francke was taught privately; but in his thirteenth year he entered the high school of Gotha. Here he spent but one year, being then, despite his extreme youth, dismissed to the university, his preparation being considered complete. But he was too young to enter upon the independent life of a German university, and spent the two years next following in the study of languages at home.

At this time Francke had already determined upon the study of theology, and had read some books with reference to this calling. Attachment to church forms and an external morality were the only qualifications then considered necessary for the gospel ministry, and Francke seems to have been moral and prudent in his conduct. Outwardly he observed his early devotional habits, but later he confessed that pride, ambition, and zeal in his intellectual pursuits, largely controlled his conduct and hindered his attention to the more important concerns.

✓ In the year 1679 he entered the University of Erfurt, and pursued his studies for a time; but one of his maternal uncles held a family scholarship at the University of Kiel, and in order to receive

the benefit of this stipend, Francke soon removed thither.

At Kiel he studied Philosophy, Physics, Natural History, Latin, Oratory, English and Theology. He had heard that Greek and Hebrew were the two eyes of theology. He had a good foundation in Greek, but felt himself weak in the Hebrew. He industriously studied the Hebrew grammar, and began to analyze, but did not make satisfactory progress. In 1682 he went to Hamburg to place himself under the celebrated Hebrew teacher, Ezra Edzardi.

Edzardi directed him to make himself thoroughly acquainted with the first four chapters of the first book of Moses, so that he understood every word in them, without concerning himself with the grammar, and when he had accomplished this again to consult him as to his further study.

Francke considered this a useless exercise, but, nevertheless, faithfully obeyed the direction of the great teacher, and again presented himself for instruction. To his astonishment Edzardi informed him that he had now mastered one-third of the Hebrew vocabulary, and counseled him to read the Hebrew Bible through repeatedly; (*lege biblia, relege biblia, repete biblia*); only after this, he assured him, would a deeper study of the language be valuable. Francke remained two months more in Hamburg, and then returned to his mother's house in Gotha. Here he read the Hebrew Bible through seven times in one year. The first reading required three months; but afterward he would read it entirely through in six weeks. Through these readings alone he became so thoroughly acquainted with the Hebrew language that he never lacked for a word. In the same

✓ v. 9

year he took up the study of French and learned it.

While engaged in these studies in Gotha, he heard of a student of theology in Leipzig, who, being well situated and in good financial circumstances, wished to find a young man to share his lodgings, who in return would instruct him in Hebrew. Francke became a party to this arrangement, and in 1684, about Easter, took his departure for Leipzig. The young man who here became his companion and pupil was Wichmanshausen, who so prospered under Francke's teaching, that he afterward became professor of oriental languages at Wittenberg.

In 1685 Francke took the degree of Master of Arts, and began to lecture in Leipzig as *Privat-docent*. His lectures were well attended, and he began now to use his growing influence in another direction. Spener and his Bible study in Frankfurt had become famous, and the practice of holding meetings for Bible study was spreading. As an exercise in Biblical exegesis, Francke and Paul Anton, with other private lecturers of Leipzig, established a *Collegium Philobiblicum*.

On Sunday afternoon, following the afternoon sermon, this assembly convened and spent two hours in the study of portions of the Old and New Testaments. But notwithstanding his earnest theological study, he says of himself in the following year: "It troubled me that my theological study was so entirely a matter of pure reason and science. I begin to see that I cannot give myself to a public office and openly teach others concerning things of which I am not convinced in my own heart. I live yet in worldly society, and am surrounded with the enticements of sin with all the established sinful usages. But in spite of

this God moves my heart to humble myself before Him, pleading for grace, and often on my knees I pray to Him that He will make me a complete child of God."

In this same year, 1687, Francke went to Lüneburg for study under the celebrated theologian, Sandhagen. Here he was required to preach in St. John's church, and this threw him into great distress of mind. He says: "I was of such a disposition that I aimed not only to preach acceptably, but to edify my hearers, and to this end chose for my text John xx. 31: 'But these things are written, that ye might believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of the living God; and that believing ye might have life through his name.' I meant to use this text to show the difference between a true and living faith, and the mistakes of a mere human legalism. As I came to think upon this with all earnestness, I became conscious that I myself had not the faith spoken of in the text. I ceased to meditate upon the sermon, and found enough to do within myself." He sought in all ways and by every argument to strengthen his faith; but the more he strove after the truth the more restless and doubting he became. In turn he took refuge in the Scriptures, and then in dogmatic writings; but was unconsoled by either the words of God or men, and found as little strength in the one as in the other. He was tormented by the consciousness of his sins, and the knowledge that they had rise in his own lack of true faith. Alone, and in great distress of mind, he strove to lay hold of the truth. He wept and prayed, calling upon the God whom he knew not, and pleading for mercy if there be a God in heaven.

One Sunday on which he was again appointed

to preach he felt that he must again decline. He could not conscientiously preach the Word of God to the people in his doubtful and disturbed state of mind. Again he fell on his knees and cried out in the darkness of unbelief to God and the Saviour for light, that he might be rescued from his miserable situation. "Then," said he, "the Lord heard me, and so great was His fatherly love that He did not remove my doubts and fears little by little, with which I would have been abundantly satisfied; but He heard me suddenly. All doubts disappeared. I was assured in my heart of the grace of God in Jesus Christ. I not only could call Him God, but I called Him also Father. All the unrest and sadness of my heart were taken away. I was filled with joy, and praised God with a full heart. In trouble and doubt I had bowed my knee, and I arose in the unspeakable joy of certainty. I was convinced that all the world with its joys and blessings could not awaken such pleasure in the hearts of men as this, and I had faith that after such a foretaste of the grace and goodness of God, the world with its allurements would be powerless over me."

He now preached with joy, and from this time he reckoned his true conversion. "From this time on," he says, "Christianity was to me a serious thing, and it was easy to deny myself ungodly pleasures and worldly lusts. God's honor and the enlargement of His kingdom among men, became the important aim of life. From this time on promotion, honor, authority in the world, riches, joyous days, and the idolatry of worldly things, I no longer regarded."

Later, in his "Confession of his inner walk before God," he says concerning his faith: "Since the moment of my conversion in Lüneberg, it has

governed my entire life. It is this confession of faith in which I live, the way wherein I walk, the truth which I have learned from the Holy Scriptures, and which the Holy Spirit has sealed upon my heart, the narrow way wherein I run, that I may be guarded from all false ways and that I may grasp the whole treasure of life. I know well my miserable condition, and that through original sin, and also through actual sins, I have deserved death and condemnation; the Son of God has given Himself for me, and through His blood, reconciled me with the Father. God attributes to me no more sin, but has justified me because I believe on His Only Begotten Son."

The faith of Francke was now no more a dogma to be believed, but a life to be lived, a pervading spirit reaching down through unreckoned years.

He remained in Lüneburg until near Lent of the year 1688. He established here also a class for Bible study, as he had done in Leipzig. On leaving Lüneburg he went to Hamburg. Here he formed a firm and lasting friendship with Nicholas Lange, who was teaching, and holding public lectures for religious edification. In Hamburg Francke established a private school, and here was awakened in him the first desire for the great work which he afterward undertook. In this school he discovered how inefficient and corrupt were the educational systems of the time, and how wretched the discipline exercised over children generally. The results of his experience as a teacher here were afterward given to the public in a writing entitled: "The Education of Children in Piety and Christian Wisdom." Remembering these experiences afterward when in Halle, "I knew," he said, "that the then existing system of education was not to be bettered by

the writing of books alone; its improvement must be demonstrated."

Just before Christmas of 1688, Francke returned to Leipzig, intending again to hold private lectures and continue his studies. But before entering upon his work there he determined to strengthen himself by an acquaintance and short association with Spener, whom he held in high esteem.

He, therefore, repaired to Dresden, where Spener was then court preacher. Francke was invited to the house and the table of this hospitable family, and here was sealed that intimate friendship and confidence that lasted through the remainder of Spener's life, and influenced Francke's entire course.

Francke remained with Spener two months, and declared it to be a time which was the richest in blessing of any in his life. He returned to Leipzig filled with zeal and joy in the work which lay before him. Spener had inspired him anew with a desire for closer study of the Scriptures, and advised a more practical exegetical study than Francke had hitherto given them. In addition to his lectures in the university, he united with Paul Anton and John Caspar Schade in practical exegetical readings from the New Testament. These readings met with general approval. Dr. John Olearius, then rector of the university, allowed him the use of an auditorium. An especially near friend of Francke's at this time, was Joachim Lange, a younger brother of Francke's Hamburg friend, who afterward became a distinguished professor in the University at Halle.

Under the influence of the course of Bible study instituted by Francke and his friends, many students were brought to a living faith, and among others, Gottfried Olearius, the son of the rector of

the University. Olearius, the elder, confessed to Francke that before his arrival in Leipzig his son had been far from promising; but that he was now an entirely different man, and that he had been the means of a great change in his whole family. There were many instances of this kind. The lecture room was crowded, even the doors and windows being filled. Not a few of the theological students who had been without piety were brought to true repentance and began their studies with quite a new spirit.

Francke himself said: "I praise the Heavenly Father that I am assured and convinced that many have come to a righteous and true repentance, have denied all the wickedness and worldly lusts, and seek to live righteously and piously, bearing with Christian patience the mocking of those other students who remain hardened in sin."

But there were those who were envious of the popularity of the young lecturer. He was accused of pride, that he, so young a man, should be better able to point out the way of salvation than his older and more learned brethren.

He was blamed with being the head of a new sect, a leader of the Pietists, and a teacher of error. He experienced now what the Saviour had prophesied for His disciples; that they should be hated for His name's sake.

The report that the three young teachers were not pure in their doctrine spread rapidly. They were said to teach the merit of good works, and not being satisfied with the Scriptures, to depend upon immediate revelation.

Hearing this, Francke went of his own accord to the Dean of the Theological Faculty, and begged him not to give ear to such groundless reports, but to convince himself of their falsity by

thorough investigation. The Faculty met in council over the matter, and an examination of Francke's teaching followed, which was entirely satisfactory. But in the meantime the preachers of the city were aroused, and denounced him from the pulpit.

At the funeral of one of Francke's hearers, Carpzov, the bitter enemy of Spener, uttered hard things against all pious assemblies and their sympathizers. He declared that the only result would be rather pious, but also rather illiterate students.

The attention drawn upon Francke and his friends by this sermon was increased by a funeral poem prepared for the same occasion by Prof. Joachim Feller. It began as follows:

Es ist jetzt Stadt-bekannt der nam' der pietisten;
Was ist ein Pietist? der Gottes Wort studirt
Und nach demselben auch ein heilig Leben fñhrt.

Through this, the name Pietist came really into use; it spread at once to Dresden as the name of a new sect which had sprung up in the Leipzig University.

The chief Consistorium of the city now ordered a report from the University concerning the teaching of Francke and his friends; and in October, 1689, Francke, Schade, Anton, Ehlers, Achilles, and some other lecturers who were suspected of Pietism, were brought to a formal examination. The result of this inquiry was favorable in so far that no ground of complaint was discovered, and it was believed that many of the adverse reports arose from the dissatisfaction of professors who found their lectures interfered with by the vigorous and pious work of these young men.

But despite the fact that his innocence had been established, Francke was called upon to

make a special defense. The matter was taken up by various theologians, and considerable controversy ensued. In the beginning of the inquiry Francke had been forbidden to continue his lectures pending his examination, and the privilege was not again permitted him. The Philosophical Faculty, however, gave him permission to lecture, and he began a course on Jacob Thomasius' *Tables de affectibus*. But again the Theological Faculty was offended, complaining that he made continual use of Biblical illustrations. He now formed a class to which he lectured on the education and discipline of the young; but this was soon cut short by the death of an uncle, whose business affairs required his presence in Lübeck.

This ended Francke's career as a student and private lecturer (*Privat-docent*). In June, 1690, he received a call as assistant in the Augustinian Church at Erfurt, and accepted it.

CHAPTER II.

FRANCKE AS PREACHER AND PASTOR AT ERFURT—
UNIVERSITY OF HALLE—FRANCKE AS PROFESSOR
AND PASTOR AT HALLE—THE PIETISTS.

FRANCKE, who well knew the sentiments of the most of the ministers in Erfurt, expected nothing but the most violent opposition to himself and his methods. But he was strengthened and cheered during all his ministry here by the support and friendship of Dr. Joachim Justus Breithaupt, whom he had before known at Kiel. These two found themselves in hearty accord in their work. Both preached with power and effect, and preached the same chief doctrine: that a secure and only outwardly honorable walk in life was in no way the mark of a true Christian; but that the entire inner man must be renewed, that the corrupt human nature must be renewed in holiness, and from this must spring the fruitful life sustained by a living faith in the living Saviour.

Crowds of people streamed to the churches to hear the preaching of these two men; even Catholics, in great numbers, sought them, and many were moved to begin a new religious life, and many Catholics went over to the Lutheran Church.

But Francke and Breithaupt did not confine themselves to preaching. They assembled the people in their houses for especial religious instruction, taking occasion to inform themselves

as to the individual needs of the people, and to speak with them directly from their hearts, exercising a true pastoral care for their spiritual welfare. Francke also began here to hold daily lectures on the Bible for students, and as this became known, students were drawn to Erfurt from Leipzig and Jena, and among these came his friend, Joachim Lange.

But this good work could not quietly go forward. The words of Luther were here indeed fulfilled. "It cannot be otherwise than that where Christ is, there will also be Judas, Pilate, Herod, Caiaphas, Annas, and also the Cross, else it is not the true Christ."

Many were so prejudiced that they saw in these preachers only emotion, fanaticism and pietism. But the greatest enmity Francke drew upon himself from the Catholics. He was in the habit of ordering copies of the New Testament and of Arndt's True Christianity from Lüneburg and other places for sale and free distribution. This caused the report that he procured heretical books and circulated them among the people. The story found ready belief with Francke's enemies, and he was strenuously forbidden by the city government to handle heretical books.

He continued, however, as before, to order and to circulate the Bible and other books of the character of Arndt's True Christianity, since he did not consider them in the forbidden category. But the magistrates had given strict orders at the postoffice and the city gates, that all suspicious packages in Francke's name be taken at once to the City Council chamber. A package was soon received and confiscated. Francke was cited to appear and answer as to why he had broken the command of the magistrates. He simply replied

that he had not done so. Thinking to convict him both of his fault and its denial, the package was brought and opened in his presence. Nothing was found in it but Lüneburg New Testaments.

The councilmen were ashamed, and gave Francke an honorable dismissal. He assured a friend that it was as good as if he had sent a crier through the town to announce the arrival of this order of New Testaments.

There were large numbers of Catholics in Erfurt, and the city was under the government of the Elector of Mainz. When Francke had preached a year and three months in that city, he suddenly received notice from the ruling Elector of his immediate removal from office, because of his being the founder of a new sect. To this order was added one requiring his removal from the city. This movement he recognized as the secret work of his enemies, and he went at once to the City Council and denied that he was guilty of any cause of removal. He was counseled, however, to submit to the order made, whereupon he answered: "The wicked flee when no man pursueth; but the righteous are bold as a lion."

Without further opportunity for defense, Francke was deprived of his office, and ordered to leave the city within forty-eight hours.

He memorialized the magistrates in a plea at once modest and courageous, setting forth the wrong practice of condemning a man unheard as against all divine, human or natural laws, and begged to be allowed the right of defense, which was permitted even the worst criminals. Citizens and even the children of the Augustinian school added their remonstrance to his before the Council, but without avail. Francke remained dismissed and exiled from the city.

But during the two days that he dared to remain in Erfurt, Francke assembled his friends in his own house, and pleaded with them in a most touching manner to stand fast in the grace which they had received, remaining true to the end. They wept bitterly, and were full of distress at what had taken place; but Francke left Erfurt cheerfully, filled with the consolations of the Holy Ghost.

He went at once to Gotha to his mother, composing on the way a beautiful hymn.

The Duke of Gotha would gladly have retained him within his own province; the Duke of Saxe-Coburg wished to retain him as professor in an academy, and the young Duke of Saxe-Weimar called him as court-preacher.

But another field of labor was now opening before him, which appeared to be of greater importance and wider usefulness.

A new university was being established by the Brandenburg government in Halle. This was the most important event in the history of Pietistic religion and Protestant theology. In 1680, a school for young nobles (*Ritterakademie*) had been founded there. Thomasius had been obliged to quit Leipzig and Saxony, because of the controversial difficulties growing out of the Bible lectures of Francke and his friends there. He had fled to Halle, and had been engaged there in lecturing on philosophy and law, and had drawn after him large numbers of students from various other points. The Brandenburg Elector already contemplated establishing a university within his own domains, and while traveling through the place, was struck with the idea of turning this academy into a university.

Spener was Superintendent in Berlin, and used

this opportunity to shape the future of the theological study in the province of Brandenburg. He urged upon the Elector the importance of a state of six thousand pastorates having its own theological school. He argued its influence upon other institutions, especially Wittenberg. He believed that it would prove a check on the polemical and heresy-hunting spirit then ruling so many of the ministers, and that it would, also, be the means of keeping money in the kingdom and of bringing more. Spener's influence prevailed; and working in unison with the Elector, he determined the character of the new institution.

In the autumn of 1691, Breithaupt, who was now exceedingly sore-pressed by his ministerial brethren in Erfurt, was called as Director of the Theological Seminary, and Professor of Theology. Francke was invited by the Brandenburg Elector to visit his court, and this invitation reached him at the same time that he was ordered to quit Erfurt. At Gotha he awaited some more decided movement on the part of the Elector. This came in December, 1691: Francke was formally called to the new university as Professor of Greek and Oriental Languages, and to the then vacant pastorate of St. George's Church in the suburb of Glaucha. This pastorate was given him as a royal office "for his better subsistence," as the new university was not yet richly endowed.

Francke traveled north to Berlin, and having received his credentials, proceeded to Halle on the 7th of January, 1692. A few years later, Paul Anton was also called to Halle as Professor of Theology, and here was gathered a faculty well prepared to combat the abuses and corruptions of the Church, and to carry forward the active Christian work begun by Spener. Philosophy

was banished from the Theological course, and practical and edifying Biblical Exegesis was made the chief study. Polemics were exchanged for active Christian work. Simple biblical lectures took the place of the heretofore abstruse and artificial commentaries.

The students were largely of the younger class of men, and were pious and earnest, of a strictly virtuous and conscientious character and life, which compared favorably with the wild spirit of license prevailing in other Universities.

Many of the Universities were yet without respectable influence on the life and thought of the people. The number of University instructors of that time, whose names are known to the learned world, is, in comparison with those of the sixteenth or eighteenth century, so small as to be hardly noticeable. Men of large gifts and great ability disdained to seek positions in the Universities as professors. There is no denying that drunkenness, brawling and wickedness of all sorts ruled within their halls, and it was only through determined interference on the part of the government that a semblance of order was restored and maintained.

Halle was the first to change this order of things and set up a new standard of religious and moral life as the object of learning, and the rule of conduct for its students. This, no doubt, as much as doctrinal differences, first excited the anger and contempt of those who afterward arrayed themselves against this University and its faculty.

Friedrich Paulsen, Professor of Philosophy and Pedagogy in the University of Berlin, in his recent work on German Universities, speaking of Halle at this time says:

“Halle received its impress from three men: the jurist Christian Thomasius, the originator of the institution, the theologian A. H. Francke, and the philosopher Christian Wolff. Thomasius, a pupil of Samuel Puffendorf, the first instructor in natural law in any German University, was through and through a type of the new French Court culture.

* * * * *

“Despising alike scholastic philosophy and humanistic eloquence, theological orthodoxy and traditional jurisprudence, he soon got into violent disputes with his native University, Leipzig, where he lectured as *Privat docent*. Being forced to yield, he retired to Halle, and the circle of students which he gathered about him became the nucleus of the University which was opened in 1694. Francke, the foremost representative of Pietism, who like Thomasius, had been driven from Leipzig, turned the theological teaching of the University of Halle in the direction of the devout study of the Bible and of practical Christianity.”

To these, the above mentioned writer adds the philosopher Christian Wolff, who finally revolutionized the whole philosophical system of Germany. The object of philosophical instruction had been the teaching and application of scholastic doctrines, as a preparation for the study of theology. The new system appealed only to reason, and sought after truth without prejudice. “Mathematics and natural science was its basis, and in an equal degree it disclaimed all transcendental authority for morals and for law.” In the course of the eighteenth century, Wolff’s philosophy took possession of all the Protestant Universities, and theology and jurisprudence

came under the influence of his writings, which appeared in German under the title of "Reasonable Thoughts."

At Halle, with Thomasius, originated the now much praised and cherished *Lehrfreiheit* of the Germans: the untrammelled freedom of thought, teaching and writing, which has made Germany so great in the world of scholarship. This is now the principle upon which the modern German University rests, and in the actual carrying on of instruction there prevails practically an absolute freedom. This with the philosophical revolution of Wolff, and the practical pietism of Francke, caused consternation in the learned world. Hate and jealousy was speedily excited in the older Universities, especially those of Saxony. Theological parties arose which had their sources in the Universities, and soon the entire force of teachers and ministers of the Evangelical Church allied themselves with one side or the other. Controversies ensued which continued to rage for fifty years, and whose spirit is not yet extinguished in the Lutheran Church.

CHAPTER III.

FRANCKE AS PHILANTHROPIST AND EDUCATOR.

It was the custom of the poor in Halle to visit the doors of benevolent people once each week to receive alms. There was a day appointed in each portion of the town for this in-gathering, and in the vicinity of the Glaucha parsonage it occurred on Thursday. Francke always caused bread to be distributed among these people ; and it soon occurred to him to divide also among them the true Bread of Life. In regard to it he says: "As I saw them before the house awaiting alms, I bade them all come in, directing the elder ones to one side of the room and the young to the other, and began to question the younger ones, in a pleasant way from Luther's catechism concerning the foundations of their Christianity, while the older ones listened. I did not occupy more than a quarter of an hour in this way, closing with prayer. After this I distributed among them the usual gifts, giving them at the same time to understand that in the future they should receive spiritual and physical food together."

He discovered through these weekly catechisations that the ignorance of the poor was so indescribably great that he did not know where to begin to establish a solid Christian foundation. It troubled him especially, he says, "that so many children, because of the poverty of their parents, could neither be kept in school nor receive in any

other way proper bringing up and education. He tried giving out weekly a small sum of school-money; but though it was regularly taken, it was not used for the purpose intended.

The need of the deserving poor went to his heart. He, therefore, bought a box, which he circulated among Christian students, and others, by which means he collected about half a dollar each week for the poor. But though people gave this small alms cheerfully, they were of a class who had but little themselves, and it seemed after a time to become burdensome. The rich gave nothing to this from their abundance, and Francke asked nothing, since they showed no evidence of true charity, but seemed only desirous of gaining credit as especially good Christians because of their ability to give more than others.

Francke, therefore, ceased to take up this collection, but caused a box to be put up in the living room of the parsonage, and over it wrote these words: "But whoso hath this world's goods, and seeth his brother have need and shutteth up his bowels of compassion from him, how dwelleth the love of God in him?" and under the box he placed the words of Paul to the Corinthians: "Every man according as he purposeth in his heart, so let him give, not grudgingly, or of necessity: for God loveth a cheerful giver."

When this box had been in use for about three months, some person placed in it, at one time, a sum amounting to about one dollar and eighty-eight cents. "As I took this in my hand," says Francke, "I said to myself with the joy of faith: 'That is a fair capital. With that one should really establish something: I will begin a poor-school with this.' I sought no counsel of flesh and blood, but went to work in faith, and the

same day laid my foundation by using a part of the money in the purchase of books. I engaged a poor student to teach the children two hours each day, promising him for his services six *groschen** each week, hoping in the meanwhile that God would favor me with a few *thalers* more in the following weeks.

“The beggar-children received the new books joyfully; but few returned them on the following day. They were either kept or sold.”

But Francke was not discouraged by this. With the remainder of the money in hand, he again bought books, which the children were obliged to leave with him at the close of the school hours.

For the use of this little poor-school, which began in regular session at Easter, 1695, he provided a room adjoining his own study. In this school-room he placed a second box with the inscription: “For the enlightenment of poor children, the necessary books and belongings, *Anno* 1695.” To this was added Prov. xix. 17: “He that hath pity upon the poor lendeth to the Lord; and that which he hath given will He pay him again.”

Later Francke visited some of his friends, who rejoiced with him over his little school, and donated a few dollars to its support; others placed small sums in the box. Some of the citizens, seeing how carefully the poor children were taught, sent their own and paid for them one *groschen* apiece the week. By summer there were from fifty to sixty scholars in the school. The poor not only received free instruction, but twice or thrice each week alms were distributed among

* Fifteen cents.

them, which served not only for their bodily comfort, but attached them to the school and their lessons.

At Whitsuntide of the same year, Francke laid the foundations of what was later the Royal *Pedagogium* or school for the higher classes.

There was a greater demand for private tutors (Hauslehrer). As this demand was not to be supplied by any particular class of persons, Francke proposed that parents should send their children to Halle, where he would take charge of their teaching and bringing up under able teachers and attendants. Many parents availed themselves of this proposition, and thus was established a school which in the year 1709, had its inspector or principal, twenty-three teachers and seventy-two pupils. Through the untiring efforts of Francke, two years later this school had its own separate building.

This school had no connection with the school for the poor, which was known as the *Deutsche Burgerschule*, where none of the classics were taught, but only the elementary branches in the German language.

The *Pedagogium*, or high school, was intended by Francke for the education of the sons of the nobility. Three young nobles had been sent him, and this was the beginning of the institution. The number of the scholars increased, and in the course of ten years, the school had seventy pupils, and they were obliged to live scattered throughout the town in the houses of the citizens. This decided Francke to provide a building for this school, which was done, it being planned and built inside of three years. It contained cheerful and comfortable abodes for the pupils and their attendants and teachers. In its plan it showed pro-

visions for industrial instruction. In Francke's schools no class of people, no walk in life, no practical application of knowledge was forgotten. The *Pedagogium* was provided with Chemical Laboratory, Cabinet of Natural Science, Physical Apparatus, preparation for anatomical studies, as well as turning lathes and furnaces for glass moulding.

There was also a special course preparatory for the university. The pupils of this course gave much attention to Rhetoric, Logic, Metaphysics, Polemics, the Latin classics and Dogmatics. A beginning was made in Homiletics, and parts of the Old and New Testaments were read in the original.

At the time of Francke's death, this one school numbered eighty-two pupils, over which were an inspector with twenty-eight teachers and ten assistants.

For all these schools Francke prescribed the methods of teaching and management himself. He wrote out carefully a programme for every teacher, and required it to be strictly followed.

In the *Bürgerschule*, there was taught at first, reading, writing and simple arithmetic, with regular Bible lessons; but later, Natural History, Geography and History were added to the course.

The girls were instructed in all the feminine industries, and even many of the poor boys were taught to knit.

The Latin school, which came to be an establishment next in order to the *Bürgerschule*, was for boys only, and for those of the more gifted sort, who were capable of a higher education. It grew out of the children of citizens being sent to the little poor-school, and was of a higher grade. Added to the common branches there was taught

Greek, Latin, Hebrew, Mathematics, History, Geography, Botany and Music. Later, the Latin was taught in seven classes, and Physics, Painting and Anatomy were added; still later, Oratory and Logic became a part of the curriculum.

The teachers were carefully selected from the great mass of students who sought the University of Halle, and Francke had the advantage of being able to select men who were able and willing to conduct the work according to his own ideas and desires.

That all these schools were so entirely under the control of one man might have operated as a decided injury to the educational system, and doubtless did produce some unfortunate results. But this continual oversight and strict control were made necessary by the constant changing of teachers and their consequent inexperience. The teachers, being taken from the University, were only pledged to teach for two years, and in that time, they could not be expected to gain the necessary insight or experience required for independent work.

But the discipline was excellent and salutary, and the work must have been finally thorough, since no advance in classes or in any special branch was permitted unless the lower grade was completely and satisfactorily finished by the individual.

The special features of these schools was the Pietistic element that showed itself throughout the course in the prominence given to certain studies, and the hours allowed for devotion. The Greek classics were subordinated to the study of the New Testament and the Hebrew; for Francke held always before his pupils the necessity of knowing the Scriptures. This he believed could only be

attained by study of the originals, or, at least, by a thorough knowledge of the language and the time in which they were written. To this end Francke finally established a school of Oriental languages, with the Bible as an especial study. The practical and industrial features were also prominent; for hand in hand with the educational was the philanthropic idea: the uplifting, assisting and comforting of the people through useful and applied knowledge, and behind and above all, religion, practical religion, was at once the motive and the object.

This, however, is more clearly seen in those institutions which were more directly philanthropic; the Poor-School, the Orphan House and its dependencies.

Francke saw to his sorrow how many hopeful children in his Poor-School were lost at length by reason of improper surroundings and lack of care in the home. In the autumn of 1605, he determined to take some of the children entirely under his own care, "and this," said he, "was the first move toward the establishment of an Orphan House, without having the smallest capital as a beginning.

"When I mentioned this project to some friends, a good Christian conscience was soon moved to invest the sum of five hundred *thalers*,* of which I was to receive the interest each year at Christmas." This interest brought Francke twenty-five *thalers* annually, and was the first endowment of the Orphanage. He at once sought out a poor orphan that could be taken under his own care, and for whose comfort and education this money could be used. But four fatherless and motherless

* A *thaler* is about sixty-nine cents in U. S. money.

brothers and sisters were brought to him that one might be chosen, "whereupon," he says, "I ventured upon the Lord to take them all." A good Christian family immediately relieved him of the care of one of these, but another at once appeared in its place. For these four children he found homes with excellent people, paying weekly a moderate sum for their maintenance. Francke said that when one had ventured to give a *groschen* to the poor, one no more hesitates to give a *thaler*, and that when without certain capital or human promises of assistance, he had taken a few of these poor orphans, that he trusted in the Lord and took yet more under his care, and he declares that his Orphan House was not founded upon present capital or the promises of wealthy people, "but upon the living God in Heaven, only."

On the day following the reception by Francke of the five children already mentioned, two others came; the next day another and in two days after yet another, and on the 16th of November of that year he had nine orphans provided for in Christian homes.

In the oversight and education of these children he now called to his aid a student of Theology, George Henry Neubauer. This young man had already commended himself to Francke by his assistance in the disorderly Glaucha pastorate, and by his influence over the children of the congregation.

"In the meantime," says Francke, "came the faithful God and Father of the Orphan, who can do so much more than I know to ask, so powerfully to my aid, that I received much more than my foolish reason could have hoped."

The same person who had donated the five hundred thalers added a thousand to it at the

beginning of winter; by mid-winter another sent him three hundred, yet another one hundred, while the work now so well begun was encouraged by a stream of small sums.

The Poor-School had now overflowed all the spare room in the parsonage and additional rooms had been rented in the house of a neighbor. This house was for sale, and Francke bought it for three hundred and sixty-five dollars. On the back part of this building he added two rooms, and to this house Francke brought the Poor-School and the orphans whom he had taken in charge. These were now twelve in number; but seven weeks after the occupancy of the new house, there were eighteen under its roof. Neubauer was placed in charge, and two free tables were provided for poor students, each accommodating twelve persons. From these students the teachers for the Poor-School were chosen, and this was the origin of what was afterward a great Teachers' Seminary.

It was not long until the number of orphans and the growth of the school required additional room, and Francke bought the next adjoining house and united it with the first, dividing the children into two classes, and later, as the numbers increased, into four. All these children were furnished with the necessary books and received their instruction absolutely free. Each class had its own rooms and teachers, the boys and girls being instructed separately.

In his care for the young Francke did not forget the older poor. They received all this time most helpful aid, and many more than formerly partook of his bounty.

It was at this time that Francke separated the Poor-School from the Latin School. This separa-

tion did not debar the poor from entering the Latin School; for though the division was made by the wish of the citizens who were patrons, the attendance on the higher school seems to have been finally determined by the natural aptitude of the poorer pupils, or the object with which they studied; for in the year 1709, among two hundred and fifty-six pupils in this school, we find that sixty-four of them were from the Orphan-House.

The two houses were soon quite too small to accommodate the continually increasing number of their inmates, and Francke began to think of providing a larger building.

In June, 1697, he sent Neubauer to Holland to study the celebrated orphanages there and consider their management. In the meantime, a small hotel or inn being for sale in Halle, Francke bought it, hoping to use it as an orphanage. But he was soon aware that the place was neither suitably arranged nor large enough for the purpose. There were now one hundred orphans to be cared for, and the students at the free-tables numbered seventy-two.

He, therefore, bought an open space in front of the inn which he had purchased, called Neubauer back from Holland, and on the 24th of July, 1698, laid the corner-stone of the present chief building of the Halle Orphan-House.

His experiences in carrying forward this undertaking, and an account of the manner by which from time to time the necessary funds reached his hand for its support, are given in detail in a little publication which appeared in 1701. Its title indicates its character and contents: "Blessed footsteps of the living and ministering, loving and faithful God, to the shame of doubt and the

strengthening of faith, discovered through a true and careful report of the Orphan-House and other institutions at Glaucha near Halle.” This work is still counted as a religious classic in Germany, and in it Francke relates in a simple and touching manner, how during the time when he undertook this first building, and in the following years, when the work broadened more and more, and the cost became continually greater, the Heavenly Father observed every time of need and sent the required provision.

“From week to week and from month to month,” he writes, “has the Lord meted out to me according as the need required. Also, we enjoyed God’s protection; in all the building that was done no one was fatally injured, and the few who suffered any accident were speedily healed. The faithless were also put to shame; for when the wall was half done one frivolous person remarked that when that wall was completed he would let himself be hanged on it, but the building suffered no interruption.”

Before Easter of the year 1696, it came about that almost every resource was exhausted, and we knew not how to provide for the following week. At that time I was not accustomed to such severe tests of faith; but at the right time God came to our aid with un hoped-for help. He moved some person (who it was, whether man or woman, and from what place, is only known to the Lord), to pay to me by the third and fourth hand a thousand *thalers* for the continuation of my work, and I received it at a time when there was nothing more in store.

“At another time, I had almost nothing, when the steward represented that unless the household be left to suffer, cattle must be bought, and twenty

to thirty bushels of grain be ground for food, to say nothing of wood, wool and other things that were needed. Had I brought this before the Lord in public prayer, doubtless there would have been those present who would have hastened to my aid with the necessary funds. But one would rather give God the honor, who turns no man from His door empty, since He is mighty enough to help in this way, and when trusted is able so clearly to show His providence that one can thank Him with greater gladness. Thereupon I gave myself anew in prayer to God, with joy in the certainty of His hearing me, who heard the cry of the young ravens. Scarcely had I finished my prayer, and seated myself again at my table, when there was a rap at the door of my room, and I opened it to admit a well-known friend. He brought a letter and a roll of money which had been sent him for me from another place. The roll contained fifty *thalers*, and there were twenty more to come from the same source. For that time plenty took the place of need, and I knew that God had heard, even before I called.

“In October of the year 1698, I sent a pious and cross-bearing Christian a ducat. She wrote me that it came at a time when she was in great need, and that she had at once prayed that my poor orphans might be cheered by a heap of ducats. Very soon thereafter a benevolent Christian brought me a ducat and twelve double ducats. On the same day a good friend in Sweden sent me two more ducats. Not long after I received by post twenty-five ducats from an unknown person. Another patron sent me twenty ducats, and at the same time Prince Louis of Würtemberg died at Eisenach, and I was informed that he had left a sum of money to the Orphan-House.

It was over five hundred ducats in specie. He had it put by in a red satin bag with a note beside it: 'This is for the Orphan-House in Halle.' As this heap of ducats lay before me on the table, I thought on the prayer of the poor woman, and that she had asked God to cheer my poor orphans with a heap of ducats.

"In February, 1699, we came to such great need, that I knew it for an hour of testing and trial. I had no means left, and our daily requirements for the great household of poor were considerable. I continued in good courage, thinking on the words of Christ: 'Seek ye first the kingdom of God,' etc. I let care for the things of time fly away, and strove to unite myself more closely to God in faith. As I paid out the last of my money I said in my heart: 'Lord, look upon my need!' I went out of my room on my way to lecture at the university as usual; but found a student waiting for me, who came with a small package of money which had been sent by a friend forty miles distant for the use of the Orphan-House. The package contained seventy *thalers*, and though it sufficed to meet our then heavy expenses for only a few days, yet God soon encouraged us with as much more, each time there was present need, and so provided from time to time that I ceased to be disturbed by such trials, and no outward need was to be traced in the affairs of the institution.

"At one time there was dire necessity in every corner. The steward brought his bills and required, also, money for the weekly expenses. I could only hold my heart to faith in God for there was no provision at hand, and these expenses were necessary. I knew of no means by which they could be supplied. I determined

that as soon as I had finished the work which I was then dictating to shut myself in my room and call upon God for a new blessing. But before the work was finished, I was informed by a letter from a rich merchant, that he had been ordered to pay me a thousand *thaler* for the use of the Orphan-House. I went to my room, and instead of offering my proposed prayer, called upon God with thanksgiving and praise. As the payment of this money was not immediately made, in the meantime God helped us in other ways, that we suffered no deprivation.

“At another time I was in the utmost need of funds, but, as I walked out, I observed the beautiful weather, the clear heavens, and my heart was greatly strengthened in faith. I thought to myself: ‘How great it is when one has nothing and can trust in nothing, but knows the living God, who has made heaven and earth, and places his trust on Him alone. Thus one can be so calm even in failure and want.’ I knew, however, that I had unsupplied needs to be met the same day; yet my heart was so strong in faith that I was comforted and gladdened.

“As I went back to the house, I found the man awaiting me who was to pay the workmen on the building for the Orphan-house now in process of erection. He had come for money for this purpose, as it was Saturday and pay-day. He asked me if any had come in. ‘No,’ I replied, ‘but I have faith in God.’

“I had hardly spoken the words when a student was announced, who brought me thirty dollars from a person whose name he was to withhold. I turned again to the building-master, and asked how much was required to pay the workmen. He replied: ‘Thirty *thaler*.’ ‘Here it is,’ I said,

and inquired if he needed more. He said: 'No.' We were both strengthened in faith, for we recognized the wonderful providence of God, who gave at the moment and according to need.

"Again there was with us a general failure of funds, so that in my prayers I laid special emphasis upon the fourth petition: 'Give us this day our daily bread,' and rested in faith especially on the words, 'this day,' since it was for the same day needful. As I was yet in prayer, a well-known and loved friend drove up to the door bringing me four hundred *thaler*. I now remarked how strongly I prayed for that day, and praised the Lord anew who held all things in His hand.

"At one time, a boy who had been brought up in the Orphan-house had opportunity to return to relatives at his former home, but required two *thaler* to pay the expenses of his journey. I would gladly have given him this small sum, but I had but little more than half a *thaler* in store. I told the boy how gladly I would give it, but that I had not such a sum by me. This was difficult for him to believe, since during all his stay in the house he had seen no trace of the frequent need, at the table or elsewhere. But I assured him of this, and of my willingness to provide for this need if I but had the means, and bade him go and take leave of a good friend, and I would see if by any means I could provide it in the meantime. After he had gone I considered if there was not some one of whom I could borrow the sum; but I had work in hand that admitted of no delay, and I thought within myself: 'God can easily bring me that much here, when it is His will,' and remained at my work. A quarter of an hour passed, when a well-known friend appeared, bringing me twenty *thaler* for the poor

orphans. He said that the twenty *thaler* had been added to his pension, and that it had been lying for some time unused, since his pension was sufficient without this, and that he had decided to give it to the orphans, who could, doubtless, use it. The boy received the two *thaler*, and the balance very opportunely supplied other needs."

Francke relates one instance after another like the above. Again and again did he wait upon the Lord in faith, and again and again received bountifully. Sometimes the gifts were in money, and sometimes in grain, wood, leather, linen, building-stone and timber. The greatest sum which he ever received at once was five thousand *thaler*. But the fame of his work spread throughout the kingdom, and even beyond, so that people of all classes, rich and poor, high and low, wise and ignorant, from the King of Prussia to poor servant maids, widows and orphans, joined in its support and encouragement.

It would have been hardly possible, however, for Francke to have accomplished so great a work had he not been provided with true and faithful assistants.

Of these he says in his "Blessed Footsteps," page 69: "I count it one of the most important of all requirements that God gave me from the beginning such helpers as confessed sincere love to God and their neighbor; who did not lay hand to the work for selfish interest nor for sake of the promised wage; neither did they leave any trace of the mere hireling in the management of their business. But, on the contrary, they looked upon the work as God's work, and not as the work of men, and in it served the Lord with true self-denial and sacrifice of themselves to the service of their neighbor."

In another place, he praises God for keeping the spirits of his helpers in faith and patience amidst the frequently recurring need and the countless difficulties which they shared with him. He thanks Him that when the need was greatest, and even as some of these good helpers spoke among themselves that they, this time, should fail to find the former blessing, He broke upon them with His gracious help and quickened them, even as a thirsty land is quickened by a bountiful rain.

Much wisdom and power and many hands were necessary to the upbuilding and management of so great a work. It was all begun with the seven *Gulden* that Francke had declared was a good capital with which to establish something. At the time of his death the buildings for the Orphan House and its supplements were like a long street. Besides the chief Orphan House there was the farm, the Book-Store, the Printing-House, the Drug Store, Laboratory, Hospital, Library, the Art Museum, and the Schools.

The Printing-House and Book-Store were due to Francke's excellent and sincere friend, Henry Julius Elers. He was born not far from Lüneburg, on the 28th of June, 1671, and died in September, 1728. He and Francke had been much attached to each other in Leipzig, and Elers followed his friend to Halle, as a student of theology, and through his efforts the Book-Store had its beginning in a little chamber in the Glaucha parsonage. Francke's sermon on "Duty toward the Poor" had been printed, and Elers appeared at the *Leipziger Messe* among the book-sellers' stalls, himself taking his station at this great commercial fair to sell this one little pamphlet. At first his small venture and his evident novitiate in the

trade excited only contempt, especially as he was a student of theology. But the sermon attracted attention, and when it became known that Elers represented the great Orphan House which was founded on a capital of seven *Gulden*, and that his sales were for its benefit, his stock was soon exhausted, and more of the sermons were in demand.

With the careful economy always practiced at the Orphanage, Elers now made cases, procured some half-worn types, and himself set up and reprinted the sermon. This, too, proved profitable, and he undertook more and greater publications, and with a fine unselfish zeal carried the work on to its finally assured success.

The Drug Store (*Apotheke*) owed much to the man who was then the physician of the Orphan House. This was Christian Frederick Richter, who was at the same time a poet, and the writer of some of the most beautiful and spiritual German hymns. His hymns are especially valuable for their deeply devotional sentiment and exquisite musical movement. One of them: "*Es glänzet der Christen inwendiges Leben*," was the favorite hymn of Schleiermacher. But Richter was also zealous in his profession.

In December, 1700, Francke visited a dying man who desired to leave him various chemical manuscripts. He assured Francke that there was one formula for a preparation of gold which was a most rare and valuable remedy. This Francke entrusted to Dr. Richter, who was not at first successful in its preparation. But after many attempts and some expenditure of the precious metal, he was rewarded by procuring the desired result. The medicine proved to be all that had been claimed for it, and though Francke insisted

on having it placed on the market at a price even within reach of the poor, its immense sales brought very large sums to the Orphan-House, and helped to establish the Drug-house and its reputation.

Finally the Drug-house grew to a hospital and dispensary, the little chamber with its single case and awkward hand-press broadened to the great printing-house and book-store, and became, at last, the headquarters for the distribution and sale of large quantities of missionary and other religious literature, and to this was added the first great Bible House, of which we shall speak later.

These institutions formed a little city within itself, and sheltered a small colony of the poor and helpless. It also gave employment to many more, and kept in time an open table to hundreds of poor and struggling students.

But Francke gave to God all the honor. He ascribed nothing to his own foresight, activity and learning ; but called himself an unworthy instrument in God's hand, who had only looked upon what God had done.

The humanistic idea had no place in his work, and so clearly did he discern God's will for men in all that he established and accomplished, that he had an almost superstitious dread of his own fame, saying that God could easily bring his work to naught and himself to shame. Only in the name of Christ would he labor. In all his teachings his greatest desire was to bring all, from the youngest child to the greatest scholar, into closer relation to Jesus Christ.

But notwithstanding his humility and sincere faith, there were not wanting those who heaped upon him abuse and slanders ; and not only upon him alone, but also upon his assistants. Francke

was accused of pride and hypocrisy, even of greed, publicly and privately, by his own brother ministers in Halle, by a few professors, and by others in the ministerial office. Freylinghausen's beautiful collection of hymns, and his "Ground-work of Theology," were characterized as injurious books. The terms "Pietist" and "fanatic" were hurled at them with all the bitter import that they then held, and no small amount of time and pains had to be expended by these already overtasked men in the painful labor of self-defence.

But God's work went on and stands to-day as a beneficent monument to man's faith and God's grace, while those who stood by with slanders and reproaches on pen and tongue are scarcely known, save as the "men who abused Francke."

In the year 1727, the time of Francke's death, the following report of these institutions was made to King Frederick I. of Prussia:

I. THE PEDAGOGIUM.

82 scholars.

70 teachers and assistants.

II. THE LATIN SCHOOL OF THE ORPHAN-HOUSE.

3 inspectors (head masters or principals).

32 teachers.

400 scholars.

10 servants.

III. THE GERMAN BURGERSCHULE, OR COMMON SCHOOL.

4 inspectors.

98 teachers (male).

8 teachers (female).

1725 boys and girls.

IV. ORPHANS.

100 boys.

34 girls.

10 attendants.

V. BOARDERS AT THE TABLES.

225 students.

360 poor scholars.

VI. HOUSEHOLD, DRUG STORE AND BOOK STORE.

53 persons.

VII. INSTITUTION FOR WOMEN.

15 young women.

8 in the house for young servants.

6 widows.

This sketch of the Francke institutions gives but a partial idea of the large sphere of the man's real labors, especially of his constant activity in and for the University. Of his Bible distribution and mission work for foreign lands we have yet to speak, since they are of such importance that they require extended notice. But, however wide and diverse were all these branches of work, they were nourished by a common root, a loving heart in the service of God and man.

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CHAPTER IV.

FRANCKE'S WORK IN BIBLE DISTRIBUTION AND MISSIONS.

SINCE Francke was so filled with the joy of faith, and was so confident of its value as the one "pearl of great price" to be sought, it is not strange that he was zealous in his efforts to divide his treasure with others. In this he had an able assistant, who, like-minded and filled with fervent love of the Word of God, determined to place the Scriptures within reach of the poorest person.

This was Carl Hildebrand, Baron of Canstein, who was born in 1667, and who became Chief Marshal and Chief Justice of the Court of the Elector of Brandenburg. He was also a trusted friend of Spener's. In the year 1710 he published a pamphlet under the title: "A humble proposal for giving God's Word into the hand of the poor at the lowest price."

In this pamphlet he proposed to have one hundred thousand copies of the Bible printed through the preparation of permanent plates or forms. As this found favor with others, he gave the order to Francke's Orphanage for execution. Prince Charles of Denmark, brother of King Frederick the IV., presented Francke, for this work, twelve hundred and seventy-one ducats.

The first edition of the New Testament from these forms appeared in the year 1713. Up to 1795 there appeared in this institution 1,659,883

Bibles, 883,890 New Testaments, 16,000 copies of the Psalms, and 47,500 of the Sirach. All these copies held faithfully to the text of Luther, except for a few changes which were agreed upon as necessary, and these were made with righteous timidity and care, so as to cause neither remark nor offense.

It can be easily imagined with what zeal Francke and his friends undertook the management of this great work, and how mightily it prospered at his hands. At the death of Baron Canstein, in 1719, his will gave the entire work to Francke for the benefit of the Orphanage and to become a part thereof. Despite the multitude of his callings and the great burden of other business, Francke received the charge gladly, and administered it up to the time of his death. But it was only a short time before his death that he was able to give to this branch of his work the massive and roomy building in connection with the Orphan House which it still occupies, and to bring it to the complete state of order and permanence which he desired for it. The Bible House now occupies one-half, or a corner of the building which is the front of a court eight hundred feet long, entirely enclosed by the chief buildings of the Orphan House. The building of the Royal *Pedagogium* closes this court at the other end. From this Bible House millions of copies of the Scriptures have gone into circulation, and all over the Christian world like institutions have sprung up; Bible societies have been formed, and free distribution has followed, until the poor have the gospel without money and without price.

A man of Francke's benevolent nature could not look upon the darkness of the heathen world without feeling the force of the Master's words

“Go and teach all nations.” Such a wish on his part could not long exist without opportunity for its satisfaction. King Frederick IV. of Denmark, at the instance of his court-preachers, Masius and Lütkens, decided to establish a mission in the Danish possessions in India. He gave the matter into the hands of Dr. Lütkens, bidding him find two men who were willing to go to the Danish colonies as missionaries. Dr. Lütkens turned to Francke, whose excellent judgment he trusted, and whose mind in the matter he well knew. sure that among the many able young men by whom he was surrounded at Halle, Francke would be able to choose some who would be both willing and competent to undertake the work. Francke proposed two German students of theology, Bartholomew Ziegenbalg, from Pulsnitz in the Oberlausitz, and Henry Plütschau, from Wesenberg in Mecklenburg. They were at once sent to Copenhagen for ordination, and on the 29th of November set sail for India. The result justified Francke’s choice.

These were said to be the first missionaries of the Lutheran church, and the first mission station was the one which they established at Tranquebar on the East India coast of Coromandel.

Ziegenbalg was highly gifted, and glowing with fervent zeal he addressed himself to the work in a manner that insured success.

In the beginning he sat among the children of an India school-master, and with them learned to read and write the Tamul from letters traced in the sand. He learned to understand it from his India servant, and finally, in a comparatively short time, it became to him as his mother tongue.

He also learned the Portuguese and associated himself intimately with the people. The first

converts at the mission were five Pariahs ; but so far from being ashamed or discouraged, they, as Francke's pupils, well understood the day of small things. At the end of the first year, they had a little congregation of thirty-five persons, and the year 1771 found fourteen thousand Hindus belonging to the mission station at Tranquebar and within the Christian church.

But the missionaries found no bed of roses in India. The work was full of difficulties, the country full of enemies and antagonists. They found even here among the European residents enemies of the so-called pietistic movement of Francke and Spener, who opposed the practical and living work of the men from Halle, and looked with distrust upon any departure from scholastic methods in religious affairs. But it was said that "they had one good friend in heaven, and in Europe they had three : King Frederick of Denmark, Francke in Halle and the Society for the promotion of the Christian Religion in England." These were all faithful helpers of the mission in Tranquebar. Among the Germans Francke sustained it with his pen and his prayers. At Halle he collected means and supplies for the needs of the mission, and kept up a constant correspondence with its missionaries for twenty years. Indeed, the mission remained in more or less immediate connection with the Orphanage, and missions became a part of the Christian work of Lutherans from this time forth, though in Germany there has never been any official connection of any missionary society with the state church, the societies being quite independent of the church organization and government. There is no doubt that the first awakening of German Christians to their duty toward the heathen nations was stimu-

lated, if not caused, by the reports made by Francke concerning the Tranquebar mission. The first, especially, was such as would disturb the Christian conscience. These reports were entitled: "I am a debtor both to the Greek and the Barbarian;" and the first appeared in Halle, 1710, with warnings to the reader against harsh judgments concerning the work and a plea for interest and aid.

Throughout Germany hearts were awakened to bring to the assistance of this mission both gifts and prayers; and of the thirty-three missionaries who went out from Europe, thirty were Germans.

Ziegenbalg translated the New Testament into the Tamul language, and the plates for its printing were prepared at the Halle Orphan House. Later much Christian literature was printed there for the use of the mission in the Tamul language. It was the Francke reports that procured for this mission its third friend in Europe. The first report was translated into English, and attracted the attention of the English Society to the mission. From that time on this English Society supported the Danish Lutheran mission with important financial assistance, and as they witnessed the blessings of the Gospel in the Danish colony, they laid the foundations of their own mission in the English colony at Madras in 1730.

So long as Francke lived, the responsibility of choosing these missionaries fell upon him. And it was doubtless through the choice he was able to make from time to time that the mission was so prospered in its work. He was so situated as to know well the young men who possessed in greatest measure those intellectual gifts and Christian virtues upon which the blessed results of the work depended; and, perhaps, none better than he

knew what was required in young men for such arduous work. Indeed, Francke's choice became sufficient surety that a man could labor with blessing among the heathen.

The most celebrated of these missionaries were Ziegenbalg, Benjamin Schultze and Frederick Schwartz, both from Sonneburg in Denmark, and William Gericke, from Kolberg in Pomerania. All of the German missionaries sent out by Francke were taken from the University without special preparation for this new and peculiar work. Frederick Schwartz became the most celebrated of all these missionaries. He commanded the respect and confidence of all classes of people and all religious parties. He was called upon to interfere in matters of commerce and state as well as religion.

In the year 1730, King Frederick IV. of Denmark, the patron of the India mission, died, and his successor, Christian VI., seemed to have no disposition to continue his father's work. The mission was no longer well sustained, and the outbreak of rationalism threatened to sweep it out of existence. But the Lord of the Church did not permit its entire extinguishment, and it rose again to its former strength and usefulness. The Evangelical Lutheran Missionary Society of Leipzig undertook new buildings, and carried forward the work with great success.

In his care for this mission to the heathen, Francke did not forget the distresses of the people of Christian countries. In the year 1713 he began to send relief to the Swedish prisoners in Siberia in the shape of books and money; and he had always a warm heart for the Jews. It was through his influence that, in 1728, Professor Callenberg established a Jewish Institute at Halle for the

conversion of the Jews, which did much good among them up to 1791.

Francke's kindly inclination toward the Jews is well expressed in a sermon which he preached in 1714 from Luke ii. 22-32: "A light to lighten the Gentiles and the glory of thy people Israel." In this he warned against the abuse and burdening of the Jews, by which no one was bettered; but by which one was marked as an instrument of the wicked enemy, rather than as the child of God.

This work for missions appeared to be a special joy to Francke during the last months of his life. Speaking of it in a letter at that time, he says: "How often, with all joy under the free heavens, have I sighed to God: 'Lord, give me children as the dew of the morning's dawn, as the sands of the sea, as the stars in Heaven, so that I can no more count them.' And what shall I say now? God has heard my childish and trustful prayer with so much grace that indeed I can no longer count those who claim to know the blessedness of the word from my own lips.

"And not only in Germany do these abound, but probably more in other lands; for it has pleased God to make me an instrument in the conversion of the heathen. And some good souls have said that those who are converted from heathenism among them are like my children's children, since they have been brought to Christ by my spiritual sons in India. Who am I that God has shown me such mercy, and that He yet continues it!"

CHAPTER V.

FRANCKE'S DOMESTIC LIFE, HIS LAST DAYS AND DEATH.

FRANCKE did not marry until he had entered upon his thirty-second year, in June, 1694. This he did only when he had first fervently called upon God for direction and blessing, so he relates.

His wife was Anna Magdalena von Wurm, the orphan daughter of Henry Otto von Wurm, of the Mansfeldian estate of Rammelburg. She is described as a gentle, quiet spirit, a true child of God, uniting her life and heart completely to her husband's work and interests, and serving thirty-three years as his faithful companion and helper.

Two sons and one daughter were born to them. The first-born son, August Gottlieb, died while yet young. Gotthilf August, the second son, was born on the 21st of March, 1696. His relation to his father's work as his successor was important, and requires more than mere mention in these pages. His birth occurred two years after the founding of the Orphan House, and his education was begun at the *Pedagogium* and finished at the University. He traveled some through Germany, and attended lectures for a time at the University of Jena, to hear J. Fr. Buddeus. He held a public disputation at Jena under the direction of Buddeus in February, 1720. On his return to Halle, he acted as prison chaplain for a time, and in his 25th year was ordained to the ministry.

In 1723 he became assistant in St. Mary's Church, was principal of the Latin school and assisted his father in the direction of the Orphan House and its various branches. In 1727 he was appointed extraordinary Professor of Theology in the University, and in the same year, by his father's death, was obliged to accept the Directorship of the Orphan House and *Pedagogium*. The following year he was elected to membership in the English Society for the Promotion of the Christian Religion. He was Deacon, then Archdeacon of St. Mary's Church, Inspector of the district of Saale, President of the Consistorial Council of Halle, and received the degree of Doctor of Theology in 1739.

He carried on successfully the work begun by his father; but in a different and less happy spirit. His father's spirit was one of joy and almost saintly benevolence. The son's was that of an ascetic. He was one of the most rigid representatives of Pietism, who believed and practiced the mortification of the members rather than their sanctification. As an academic teacher he was distinguished for the accuracy of his instructions and the great and practical influence which he exercised over his students.

Up to the time of his death he continued his interest in the work of Foreign Missions, especially those in India which his father had helped to found, and continued to edit and publish the reports as they had been begun.

Twice a week for thirty years he delivered exegetical lectures in the great assembly hall of the Orphan-House, and in many ways continued the work of his father.

But the broadly benevolent spirit and vigorous enterprise of the father was lacking in the son.

Had he possessed these paternal characteristics in a greater measure, he might have prevented the Pietistic movement from so soon sinking into that slough of extremes toward which it was fast tending. Indeed, he was himself an extremist, and, consequently, but ill fitted for leadership.

But his offices in behalf of the Lutheran Church in America must not be overlooked. Daniel Weissiger was sent to Germany by the German Lutherans who first settled in this country, to collect funds and procure a preacher for these needy and churchless people. He carried letters to several persons likely to give, and to assist him in getting aid; but especially was he recommended to Dr. G. A. Francke, at Halle, as one interested in *Foreign Missions*. Francke was interested. "A Brief Report from America" was published, together with a letter of recommendation from the English Court preacher, Ziegenhagen, the needs of Lutherans in America in the matter of churches and schools were also made known by letter and orally, and aroused many Christian people to offer sympathy and aid. Dr. G. A. Francke and Pastor Maier in Halle, Dr. Pfeiffer in Leipzig, and Senior Urlsperger in Augsburg, received the accumulated contributions. But there was delay in finding the right kind of a man to send to America as a missionary. Finally, it was Dr. G. A. Francke, himself, who, acting for the German Evangelical Lutheran Churches in Philadelphia, New Hanover and Providence, extended a call to Rev. Henry Melchoir Muhlenberg to become pastor of these churches. During the remainder of his life the younger Francke took a lively interest in the American churches, and edited and published the reports of the American churches sent to Halle under the title of the "Halle Reports."

At the time of his death the eleventh continuation of these reports was being prepared for the press. The younger Francke published numerous writings of a varied character and conscientiously discharged his various official duties. He died September 2d, 1769.

We have turned aside from our proper biographical sketch, for the purpose of showing in part how the spirit of Augustus Hermann Francke, and the institutions which he founded at Halle, the faith which he loved and honored, the missionary zeal which he awakened, took root in American soil. Here, as in India, Bibles were furnished for some time by the Canstein Bible House, and the religious literature came from the printing-presses of the Halle Orphanage, at the instance of the younger Francke. The schools were influenced by the Halle institutions, and Muhlenberg himself was educated at Göttingen, a university of the same spirit, and the immediate follower of Halle in philosophy and theology. He also studied theology one year at Halle.

The daughter of Augustus-Hermann Francke was his youngest child. She was named Johanna Sophia Anastasia. When grown to womanhood she was united in marriage to John Anastasius Freylinghausen, so long her father's faithful friend and able assistant. To them were born a son and two daughters. The son, G. Anastasius Freylinghausen, died in 1785, a preacher and professor of theology at Halle. The two daughters married the brothers, John Conrad Philip Niemeyer and J. Anton Niemeyer. The former was Archdeacon of St. Mary's church, and the latter was the Inspector of the Royal *Pedagogium*. This latter died in 1765, and thus the management of the Francke institutions passed over to the Niemeyer family.

The biographer has but meagre information from which to present a picture of Francke's home life. His was truly a life hid with Christ in God. For several years George Frederick Rogall, Doctor of Theology and Professor of Philosophy at Königsberg, was a member of his family, and his trusted friend. He has little to tell of the life of the family, but there is much in that little. There was, he says, gentleness and quietude throughout the house. There was never an outcry, a word of anger or bitterness to be heard. The family faults did not rule there, but, on the contrary, those domestic virtues commended by the Scriptures predominated.

With the busy master of the house much of his contact with his family was at the table, and here his mind was not diverted from its usual channels. Often he told how the blessings and providences of God were being made manifest to other people and in other places. Sometimes he carried on an instructive conversation, or, when one of his grand-children was present, taught a profitable verse of Scripture, with its meaning and application. Nothing was reserved for selfish pleasure or frivolous enjoyment; but all was done to the honor and glory of God. Indeed, if Francke erred, it was on the side of too great industry and devotion to his work.

Toward the end of the year 1694, he received a letter from Magdeburg from a friend who was in great financial distress, and who begged for assistance. Francke was not himself in circumstances which enabled him to furnish the desired aid; but he decided to prepare Bible commentaries and have them printed and issued in monthly editions, in order to bring him in the money necessary to meet the needs of his friend.

In order to do this, with the other duties which already filled his time to repletion, he was obliged to forego his evening meal, using the time which he had been accustomed to devote to it in the preparation of the commentary.

There was also strength in his quiet and self-sacrificing life, which was able to overcome opposition and disarm more than one enemy. In order to strengthen the new University at Halle, Baron Von Dancklemann, the Prussian minister, wished to call to a professorship there the then celebrated jurist, Dr. Samuel Stryk, of Wittenberg University. But Wittenberg was bitter enough against the young university and its faculty, especially against Francke; and throughout Saxony had been circulated all manner of derogatory reports concerning him. He was a disturber of the peace, a fanatic, a greedy collector of funds which he converted to his own selfish uses or hoarded for his family; in short, he was a Pietist, a name which covered unsounded and mysterious depths of possible error.

Dr. Stryk refused to consider the call unless this arch-pietist, Francke, should be first dismissed. Francke was written to and informed of this, and he was given the choice of various superintendencies and other positions, if he would resign. Stryk had also received a very flattering call from Copenhagen, and this added to the anxiety of the Berlin ministry. Francke was given to understand that if he did not quietly resign, his removal would follow. To this Francke made answer: "I am fully satisfied of the divinity of my call to Halle, and in the other positions proposed, I have not the certainty of the blessing which I have witnessed in my work here. If I have done anything punishable, it can be proven,

and I am willing to be dealt with accordingly ; but I am determined that I shall not suffer myself to be innocently removed."

No one had expected such decision and such steadfast declarations from the gentle Francke, and as Dr. Stryk preferred a professorship in Halle to that in Copenhagen, the Berlin officials persuaded him to accept the call, leaving Francke in position.

He came to Halle, met Francke, saw his daily life, his benevolent deeds, his trust in God, and entirely changed his judgment of him. He became one of his truest and most trusted friends, and remained in this relation to him until his death, which occurred in 1710.

Francke, like his friend Spener, prayed often. Sometimes it was at his work, sometimes it was with or for friends who called upon him; but he also had fixed hours for prayer and lists of friends for whom he daily prayed according to their need. Not a few of his acquaintances believed that they had him and his daily prayers to thank for their conversion.

But true and earnest as Francke was in prayer, he was not less earnest in brotherly reproof when he held reproof to be necessary. One instance of this was the stern, almost angry words, spoken by him to Samuel Urlsperger, who was of a more timid and retiring nature, but not lacking in sincere and honest piety.

Urlsperger was Court-preacher in Stuttgart, and at that time life at the Court was frivolous and wanton.

The Duke himself was living in open shame, and every Christian tongue was bound by men's fear or men's favor.

In 1717 Francke traveled through South Ger-

many, forced to the change by over-work and declining health. He visited Urlsperger, and heard him preach, and after the sermon went to him full of sorrow. "I hear, brother," he said, "that thy lectures are Evangelical; but thou touchest the sins of the Court with no word. I come to say to thee, in God's name, that thou art a dumb dog, and if thou turnest not about, and as a public teacher of the truth speak out freely, thou wilt be lost, in spite of all thy confessions."

Francke took a troubled leave of his friend. But on the following Sunday the Court-preacher spoke with great earnestness and freedom of the prevailing sins. The Duke sent him word that he had felt like having him shot in the pulpit; and that unless he would, on the following Sunday, retract from the pulpit all he had said, he would complain of him before the High Court, and as his crime was against royalty, he might easily lose his head.

Urlsperger answered that he could not, under any circumstances, recall what he had said, and no more could he retract; that his majesty must do with him as he would. He was arrested and brought to judgment before the Royal Court. He was again given opportunity to retract, but refused, and the day of his execution was fixed.

Upon this he sent for his wife and four children, and asked his wife what she wished him to do in the matter. The heroic woman replied: "My dear husband, your death would throw me and our children into the greatest bodily distress; I pray you, however, in God's name, do not deny the truth; that would bring a curse upon me and our children."

He was comforted by this answer, and sent

word to the Duke that his head was at his service any day.

The Duke brought his death-warrant to be signed by the Prime Minister; but the Minister laid down his sword and offered to give up his office, saying: "Your Majesty, here is my office and my honor; I subscribe no debts of blood."

The Duke was amazed, and, rather than lose his first Councillor, he satisfied himself by only dismissing the Court-preacher with the condition that he must seek a position outside of the state.

A few years later the same Minister was with the Duke watching a military review, when the former Court-preacher passed them. The Minister called the Duke's attention to him, saying: "Your Majesty, so long as this man was in office, you had blessing and happiness in the kingdom; but since we have a flatterer in his place, everything goes unluckily. Will you not make good his wrongs, and at least care and provide for him?"

This was done. Urlsperger was made Deacon in Herrenberg, and soon after first preacher at Augsburg. Here he passed many happy days, still the friend of Francke, and was one to give aid and sympathy to the early churches in America and their hard-working missionaries. He died at a great age in 1772.

Francke, himself, stood in no fear of royalty or those high in office. In May, 1713, he was sent as deputy of the Halle University to assist at the funeral of Frederick II. of Prussia. While in Berlin he preached in the Garrison church in the presence of the king with undisturbed composure, and with his usual freedom and courage. Afterward the king said loudly, in the presence of his Court: "Francke is a good man. He speaks the truth to every one."

This favorable impression made upon the new king (Frederick William II.), wrought rich results for the Halle University and Francke's institutions, which found in him an interested patron.

Francke's life was also full of beneficence to the lowly as well to those who were his friends and equals and those of high estate.

At one time an unhappy and stubborn woman came to Halle seeking his counsed. He directed her to go home and make peace with her mother-in-law. But the woman declared that the church-tower would as readily lay itself on the ground as she would put aside her hate for her mother-in-law, since she had made her so angry. Thereupon Francke said to her :

"That does not surprise me. I am quite satisfied that you are in no condition to be reconciled to your mother-in-law. That will only be possible to you when you call upon God in the matter. I beseech you earnestly to promise me that you will pray to God for a reconcilable heart."

The woman did not trust herself to disregard his request, and after a few days she returned saying :

"Now I will go and make peace with my mother-in-law."

She did this, and when her pastor at home asked her why she had not done so before, she replied :

"You readily admonished me to peace and reconciliation, but you did not tell me how it should be accomplished, and that I must go to God for it."

Once as Francke stood by the half finished foundation of the Orphan-House, his means exhausted and the work about to stop for want of stone and lime, a workman brought to him a box

of coins found by those who were digging for the wall. The coins bore this stamp: "Jehovah. *Conditor Condita Coronide Coronet.*"

"This," said Francke, "again lifted me up and sustained my faith, so that I with gladness and comfort resumed the work in the hope that I should see the building brought to completion."

This might also be applied to Francke's life when his course had been run in faith, and finished, and his crown of righteousness received.

During the course of his work it was frequently necessary for Francke to take long journeys in its behalf. In the year 1718 he made the last of these journeys, and returned refreshed and strengthened to his labors in Halle. Up to his sixty-third year he was able to discharge all his various duties and obligations in the most punctual manner.

A few years later he suffered a most serious loss in the death of his old friend and assistant Neubauer. He was much affected by the departure of this peaceful soul, who had so long and faithfully served him in God's work. In Neubauer's desk was found a note saying: "I wish to be buried in the quietest manner. They shall prepare no service or funeral sermon or memorial. I was born in 1666 at Desdorf, in Halberstadt. This, and when I died, is enough concerning my life."

Francke, himself, remained but a short time to need or mourn this friend. The year following Neubauer's death, 1625, he began to suffer from the painful malady which resulted in his death. In June, 1726, he was able to take a journey to Altenburg with the hope of improving his health, and to visit his friend Count von Henkel. But he remained ill, and in the autumn of the same

year suffered a partial paralysis of the left side. He recovered from this so as to be able to go about and even accomplish some light work. At the beginning of the new year, 1627, he seemed to regain his health, and bade Dr. Richter and his colleague pack up their medicine, since they could see that a higher hand was upon him.

He now spent much time reading his favorite religious works, and wrote many letters to his old friends. He often expressed himself as being weary and longing for the Heavenly home, the New Jerusalem, but as willing to live if it was the Lord's will. He abstained from all severe or wearisome labor, saying that he did not wish to destroy by his carelessness what God built up. He grew to feel much stronger, and hoped in the summer semester of 1627 to take up his lectures at the University again.

He really appeared there on the 15th of May, and held one lecture, the first since his illness and the last in his life-time. He closed this lecture with visible emotion, and with words which it was not his custom to use: "So go now hence, and be ye blessed of the Lord forever and ever!"

Two days after he appeared in the Church and partook of the communion, but with greatly increased physical weakness. Once more he was taken to the garden of the Orphan-House, where for an hour he poured out his heart in fervent prayer, a glorious psalm of praise and trust and victorious hope. In the morning he asked that some favorite hymns be sung, and was strong and hopeful in spirit; but by the evening his former illness returned in a greatly aggravated form. Drs. Richter, Junker and Becker called the Prussian Court-physician and all of the medical professors of the University in counsel, but the time

of his release was near. He suffered much from that on, and once prayed the Heavenly Father to teach him not only to do, but to suffer according to His will, that he should not vex Him by word or thought, and since He could make everything blessed, that his sufferings should be for the edification of others.

On the seventh day, as his sufferings increased, he blessed each one present, and said: "All who are received into heaven can say that they have come out of great tribulation. When I go to heaven, the Lord will ask me: 'Whence comest thou hither?' Ah, I must answer Him: 'Out of *little* tribulation; yet in these last days I, too, have suffered, and am also one of those that come to Thee out of tribulation.'"

Day after day of weakness and extreme suffering served only to bring him to greater joy in prayer and communion with God, and hope of his speedy and victorious release from pain. On the day of his death he parted from friends and kindred with gentle words of blessing. His wife asked him: "Your Saviour is yet near you, is He not?" "There is no doubt of it," he replied, and these were his last words. He fell into a gentle sleep, and at evening, June 8th, 1727, quietly passed away.

The whole city came to look once more upon his face, and on June 17th great crowds followed his remains to his last resting-place, and many pens were busied with memorials of one who is yet styled, "A man after God's heart."

In the preceding pages we have not aimed to present the Pietistic Movement in its historical or theological relations. We have striven only to give a brief sketch of two men most prominent in

its beginning, and to speak of the spirit and motives which prompted their action. That Rationalism sprang up in the wake of Pietism is not to be denied; but the causes of it must not be thoughtlessly stated. One historian insists that the "Seeds of Rationalism were already in the ground" before the time of Spener; another claims that it was the result of Wolff's philosophy and Thomasius' Freedom of Teaching (*Lehrfreiheit*). Others believe that it was the logical outcome of the emotional religion of the Pietistic extremists. Be that as it may, neither Spener nor Francke stood for a rationalistic theology, or emotionalism in religion. They wrought nobly against the evils of the time; and if men and women of less breadth and equanimity abused the principles for which they stood, or failed to understand them in their proper relations, the memories of Spener and Francke are not to be burdened with these mistakes. They produced a revival of living, active faith, the beneficent results of which survive today in their own country and in ours.

The spirit of the Halle University brought new dignity and power to educational centres everywhere. If individuals and schools at any time divorced its principles from the true religious faith, from the very nature of truth the separation must have been but temporary. Its principles survived, and bear the tests of later times and more advanced thought. They were necessary to aid in the rescue of theology from the bold authority of men's statements and to plant its truths in the free consciousness of the individual.

Tares have been plentifully sown with the good seed which these men cast abroad; but the good grain has also flourished and yielded its rich harvest in many an otherwise desolate spot: the

revival of strict catechisation, public confirmation, general and careful study of the Word, meetings for prayer, evangelical preaching, and at least a demand for moral rectitude in the life of the Christian and the Christian minister, continue to bear witness to the wisdom of Spener's work. The practical benevolence of Christians is still stirred by the almost superhuman devotion of Francke to the uplifting of the ignorant and the needy, and it is much owing to his influence that the brotherhood of man and the value and dignity of the human soul has been read into every Christian Creed.

Yet, perhaps, there is no one lesson to be learned from these short biographies so important for the Christian as that expressed in the single passage of Scripture which Francke placed above the main entrance to the Orphan House. Beneath the figures of two soaring eagles stands this inscription: "But they that wait upon the Lord shall renew their strength; they shall mount up with wings as eagles."

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